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ABSTRACT

A Seminar on Teacher Centers was convened in 1977 by the University of Chicago's Department of Education and Center for Policy Study in cooperation with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. This volume contains the papers commissioned for the seminar. These papers report on principal issues discussed, and give participants' perspectives. An analysis is presented of several definitions and schemes for classifying teacher centers. Two major streams of influences that have shaped the experience and conceptions of teacher centers to date are traced. The European experience with teacher centers is approached from two viewpoints. The organization of teacher centers in West Germany is described with discussions on the political implications of the teacher center idea and the development and implementation of curriculum innovations. The history, structure, and role of the teacher center in England is outlined, and future trends in education are considered. Sketches are presented from six American teacher centers, providing a set of referents for comparison with the European experience. The concluding papers contain analyses of teacher center issues and discussions on policies and research. (JD)

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TEACHER CENTERS

What Place in Education?

SHARON FEIMAN
Editor

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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CENTER FOR POLICY STUDY

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FOREWORD

Reflecting on the past is not something this country is noted for, yet today there seems to be significant stocktaking. Many Americans are examining new opportunities to realize traditional purposes and expectations. In education as in other fields, public forums and professional journals are interpreting experience in the light of future needs. The change in rhetoric from a decade ago is particularly poignant. The language of the 1960s was rich in the pursuit of "fresh ideas" and "bold experimentation." New ideas were to "revolutionize," to "sweep through the schools," preferably "with speed." The educational reformer was among the "pioneers on the frontier" who was to exert "far-reaching influence" on the school.

When one looks back to that time, however, it seems clear that the debate about school reform avoided serious discussion of ways to work out necessary changes in classroom practice. Few people understood that if new ideas and teaching materials are to improve quality, the teacher must make the significant changes - in attitude and philosophy, as well as in the capacity to apply knowledge and skills. Putting complex reforms to practical use was obviously someone's responsibility, but the level of discourse barely went beyond teacher's manuals or planning an institute here, a workshop there. The full complexity of the teacher's job was not seriously acknowledged.

The difficulties in implementing changes also reflected the fact that the public school system in the United States has never been staffed to provide substantive help with the kind of learning about teaching that best occurs on the job -

learning to integrate knowledge of subject and of children in daily instruction. Not only has our educational system been strangely reluctant to accept responsibility for the development of this basic capacity, it has also failed to establish effective procedures for encouraging teachers to share their expertise.

It was in part preoccupation with these concerns in the late 1960s that attracted American teachers and teacher educators to the teacher centers that were being established throughout Great Britain. Linked to Britain's curriculum reforms and to efforts to base teaching on a closer knowledge of the child's ways of learning, the British centers were set up to help teachers work out the implications of new curricula. What seemed impressive about some of the centers was an atmosphere that fostered lively discussion of a range of tools and resources for learning, a climate that encouraged teachers to take initiative in seeking advice and help, and an opportunity to participate in creating curricula that would fit one's particular classroom needs.

In the early 1970s the first teacher centers began to appear in the United States, in part as adaptations of practices observed in England and in part to fit local conditions. More alien to the U.S. experience than were British centers to British practice (Britain traditionally has provided assistance to classroom teachers), the American centers have had to struggle to legitimate an environment for professional development that responds to the individual teacher's concerns and lends intellectual excitement to solving classroom problems. Some six years later, it seems clear that the centers have offered teachers an effective alternative to the more familiar modes of inservice lectures and courses. We do not yet know how to assess this initial experience or how to define the role centers can play in dealing with the immense difficulties facing public education.

Many teachers seem to feel that acknowledging a need for help is a sign of weakness rather than strength. To risk that step is to jeopardize one's status as a professional if not one's job. A climate conducive to giving and receiving help, including supportive, person-to-person interaction, is essential. The necessary personal relationships are difficult to achieve in the large-scale programs that characterize much of federal and state effort at educational reform. Issues of institutional change, problems of coordination among agencies, and issues of governance predominate over pedagogical concerns. The problem of scale alone seems particularly severe in U.S. education. We have built school buildings that are too large to be effective agents in their own renewal, and they are thus

highly vulnerable to the interventions of impersonal outsiders. Size, too, may account for the tendency to rely on abstract definitions of teaching skills and training in easily packaged formats. We may badly need the antidote of a new social invention that directly addresses the issues of scale and impersonality in our public educational system.

To provide for an exchange of views about the nature and significance of teacher centers and to examine their implications for professional development, The University of Chicago's Department of Education and Center for Policy Study agreed to organize a seminar in June 1977. For a comparative perspective of European experience, the assistance of the Organisation for European Co-operation and Development in Paris was obtained. The participants in the seminar represented a diversity of experience and perspectives - teachers and former teachers who direct teacher centers, people active in professional development, representatives of regional and state education groups and of professional organizations and education associations, individuals with policymaking roles, and scholars interested in studying educational change and professional development. Funding was provided by the Ford Foundation's Division of Education and Research which, along with other foundations, has encouraged the establishment of some of the first teacher centers and has assisted in fostering the exchange of experience among them.

The Foundation's interest reflects the recognition that more modest claims and more realistic time scales must be accompanied by more persistence in designing forms of support for teacher development that will enable teachers to accept more responsibility for improving the conditions for learning. Externally mandated changes will have little impact if even the most basic local aims cannot be attained. Educators in other countries appear to be coming to this recognition. Despite basic differences in educational systems and forms of governance, overall the message seems to be the same: if teachers are to be more effective agents in the education of children, they must be involved both in defining and acquiring the complex skills of the job on terms that will engage the person - his or her intellect, imagination, and interest.

An immediate impetus for the seminar was the new U.S. legislation authorizing federal support of teacher centers. This legislation is stimulating lively debate and will undoubtedly contribute to determining the future forms of professional development. Whatever forms teacher centers take, however, they are likely to reflect a clear trend toward a greater role for teachers in shaping the content, timing, and terms of profes-

sional development. Whether the results will be old practices with new labels or the beginning of a fundamental shift toward greater professional responsibility is an open question. We hope that the record of this seminar will stimulate the pursuit of this question and provide a vivid sense of the range of possibilities, and so help to enrich local and national discussion.

MARJORIE MARTUS

The Ford Foundation

PREFACE

A Seminar on Teacher Centers was convened June 19-21, 1977, by The University of Chicago's Department of Education and Center for Policy Study in cooperation with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. Fifty persons from the United States, Canada, and Europe participated. This volume contains the papers commissioned for the seminar, reports on principal issues discussed, and perspectives by the cochairmen.

The seminar program was designed by faculty members in the Department of Education with assistance by the Center for Policy Study. Those serving on the committee included, in addition to the cochairmen, Max S. Bell, Susan S. Stodolsky, and Zalman Usiskin of the Department, and Ann Grahn from the Center. Philip W. Jackson, department chairman, assisted at key points as did D.J.R. Bruckner, director of the Center for Policy Study and Vice President for Public Affairs.

We acknowledge with appreciation the support of the Ford Foundation at whose invitation the seminar was undertaken. Marjorie Martus, who represented the Foundation, shared her experience generously and tactfully, facilitating our effort to have a full, even-handed examination of the issues. The participation of European specialists enhanced the value of the seminar; we thank the OECD and its representatives, David Thomas and I.C. Taylor, for their cooperation. The seminar participants are listed at the end of this book; we are grateful for their contributions.

Special thanks are due Ann Grahn, seminar coordinator, for her invaluable work in planning and conducting the seminar and in the preparation of this volume.

SHARON FEIMAN *DAN C. LORTIE*
Cochairmen

I

PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER 1

THE TEACHER CENTER CONCEPT

SHARON FEIMAN

Teacher centers could serve as a catalyst for thoughtful discussion about alternative approaches to teacher education and school reform. The teacher center bill, which is part of the 1976 Education Amendments, provides such an occasion. The new legislation presents an opportunity to advance alternative forms of on-the-job learning and professional development that go beyond those typically found in school district in-service training and university courses.

Whether the promise of teacher centers will be realized, however, depends on whether the center concept can be embedded in the existing system without being perverted. This, in turn, requires a clear understanding of what teacher centers represent, a realistic view of the supporting conditions, and a deliberate strategy for bringing about the implied changes.

Unfortunately, the teacher center concept has generated more conflict than communication and more confusion than clarity. Hailed a short while ago as "one of the hottest educational concepts on the scene today" (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974a), the term, some now think, is meaningless. I say "some" because there are many people for whom it conjures up rather specific mental images - pictures of people and places, programs and organizational structures designed to help teachers improve in their work.

Although the term does mean something to many, it clearly does not mean the same thing. This is apparent from a glance at the center landscape and literature. As Schmieder and Yarger (1974a, p. 6) observed: "The term might just as well refer to three teachers opening a store-front in Harlem as

to a state-controlled network designed to serve literally thousands of teachers and other educational personnel." Joyce and Weil (1973, p. 2) call teacher centers a "multidimensional construct for which there is no one definition but only emphases and preferences." Smith (1973, p. 2) has suggested that its meaning depends on "the country and culture where the term is used; the region of the country which people come from; the specific education publications they read or the particular role they play in education as students, interns, classroom teachers, professors, school administrators or USOE officials." No wonder Schmieder and Yarger (1974b, p. 31) conclude that "professional educators have conversed about teacher centers with little or no communication taking place because they were talking in different languages with different concepts in mind."

While anyone can make the label cover whatever ground he likes or emphasize those features he thinks central, discussion is only possible when people know what they are discussing, and purposeful action is only possible when there is a shared end in view. This introductory chapter grew out of my own search for those features central to the teacher center concept. It takes the reader over some of the ground I have traveled in an effort to clarify the special purpose of teacher centers in the educational system. Given the reality of federal funding and the current dissatisfaction with conventional forms of teacher education, particularly at the inservice level, it seems timely to consider the different conceptions of teacher centers as they have evolved and to try to determine what the place of centers might be.

At a more fundamental level, the analysis should demonstrate that the task of sorting out the special province of teacher centers is bound up in the prior task of determining what teachers need in order to carry out their teaching responsibilities and remain vital in their work. In that sense, the important agreement is not about how to use the teacher center label but about what the professional needs of teachers are and how they might best be served.

First I will analyse several definitions and schemes for classifying teacher centers. Then I will trace two major streams of influence that have shaped the experience and conceptions of teacher centers to date. This will provide a background for examining the concept of teacher centers embodied in the federal legislation and for characterizing what emerges as central to the teacher center idea.

Definitions of Teacher Centers

In order to encompass the diversity of teacher center activities, Schmieder and Yarger (1974a, p. 6) have defined a teacher center as

> a place *in situ* or in changing locations which develops programs for the training and improvement of educational personnel (inservice teachers, preservice teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, college teachers, etc.) in which the participating personnel have an opportunity to share successes, to utilize a wide range of education resources and to receive training directly related to their most pressing teaching problems.

In principle, this definition could refer to many existing preservice and inservice programs. This raises the question of whether teacher centers are doing something new which hasn't been done or whether they are trying to do better what is currently attempted. For example, some have argued that the principal defect in teacher preparation is the absence of training in the skills of teaching (Smith, 1969). Is "skills training" the special province of teacher centers? Similarly, many would contend that inservice activities often seem remote from pressing problems of practice. Do teacher centers provide more relevant offerings by drawing on a wider range of education resources and including the full spectrum of educational personnel in their charge?

A second definition, formulated in conjunction with a more focused survey, is supplied by Devaney and Thorn (1975, p. 3) who define a teachers' center as

> a program for the continuing education of practicing teachers (mostly elementary) which aims to be responsive to teachers' own definitions of their continuing learning needs rather than to school administrators' or college professors' or curriculum committees' imposed agendas. Such a program can be a place where teachers come to work together or share self-instruction and it can also be a staff or advisors who go out to help teachers in their schools, working in the same spirit of teachers' definition of their own needs.

Here we learn that teacher centers serve the self-defined needs of practicing (elementary) teachers. Their province is a form of "continuing education" which draws on teachers' own resources and encourages collegial exchange. The emphasis is on responding to needs of teachers as they perceive them,

rather than to someone else's view of what teachers should learn. Are teachers' needs and wants being equated? Does this mean that institutional priorities are not a major concern?

A very different notion is spelled out in the bicentennial report of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education:

> Teacher centers are governance mechanisms; they are not places. They can, however, establish places where teacher education takes place. These too are called Teacher Centers or Teachers Centers. In such centers, an array of preservice, inservice and continuing education can take place as each of the major partners assumes responsibilities that fall within its jurisdiction (Howsam, *et al.*, 1976, p. 159).

By this definition, teacher centers represent a shift in the power structure of teacher education from control by colleges and universities to collaboration among all agencies and institutions involved. The report identifies the six partners who should collaborate in the operation of a center - the teacher education unit, the schools, teacher organizations, the university, the school board and community, and the state or intermediate agency. It does not delineate who is responsible for what, but it does distinguish between inservice and continuing education, both of which fall under the jurisdiction of a teacher center along with initial preparation. "Inservice" refers to "employment-oriented education," which includes preparation for innovations introduced into schools or school systems and improvement in what is already being done. Those activities which are of consequence to the teacher regardless of his particular place of work are subsumed under the term "continuing education." Neither category explicitly refers to activities based on teachers' own definitions of professional need; however, the concept of a "professional" which permeates the report implies that the individual teacher is responsible for keeping up to date and maintaining his competence (Howsam, *et al.*, 1976, p. 65-66).

What are we to make of these different definitions? On the one hand, we are told that a teacher center may be a place or a group of advisors working in schools; on the other, we are told that a teacher center is not a place but a governance mechanism. On the one hand, we learn that teacher centers respond to the self-defined needs of individuals; on the other, we learn that they serve the training needs of institutions as well. From one side it appears that teacher centers are primarily concerned with inservice or continuing education; from the other, it seems they are responsible for

the entire continuum of teacher education, from initial preparation to inservice and continuing education.

There are several new ideas in these definitions which have not informed conventional practices in teacher education and which offer some clue about what is potentially new about the teacher center invention. One is the notion that teacher education is a comprehensive system affecting all educational personnel. A second is the belief that the self-defined needs of practitioners provide the most appropriate starting point for professional education. A third is the view that teacher education requires cooperation among various institutions. No single definition, however, incorporates all three.

Those who view these definitions as variations on a common theme are forced to state that theme in quite general terms. Schmieder and Yarger (1974a, p. 6) speak of the teacher center as a new system of educational renewal whose purpose is "to improve the quality of instruction that takes place in schools and classrooms." Ultimately that must be the concern of any teacher center, but it does not tell us what makes the teacher center approach different.

Sometimes it is appropriate to minimize differences in order to mobilize the widest base of support. If, however, one is trying to figure out what is special about teachers centers, all-inclusive definitions and classification schemes can be misleading.

Teacher Center Typologies

Joyce and Weil (1973) made one of the earliest attempts to identify the "properties and possibilities for teacher centers" by examining their historic precedents and contemporary exemplars. Their analysis sheds some light on the origins of the different definitions of centers, but it also flattens out some fundamental differences.

Joyce and Weil cite three major influences on the teacher center movement in America: the "revolution" in primary schooling and teacher education in Britain; the activities of the U.S. Office of Education in support of "training complexes" and "educational renewal"; and the movement toward competency-based teacher education. From these origins, they derive the following three general objectives for teacher centers, each of which is linked to a different style of operation:

> to serve the needs of teachers, providing a place where they can improve themselves on their own terms, (informal style)

> to serve the needs of schools, helping teachers acquire the competencies required to implement new curricula or improve existing ones (corporate style)
>
> to increase teachers' skills along predetermined lines or in response to diagnosis of peers or supervisors (competency-based style)

The informal style, associated with the first objective, is represented by a somewhat romantic image of British teacher centers. That image was popularized by Stephen Bailey in a widely quoted article in *Phi Delta Kappan* (1971, p. 146):

> Teachers' centres are just what the term implies: local physical facilities and self-improvement programs organized and run by the teachers themselves for the purpose of upgrading educational performance. Their primary function is to make possible a review of existing curricula and other educational practices by groups of teachers and to encourage teachers' attempts to bring about changes.

In identifying the informal style, Joyce and Weil have in mind the kinds of informal workshop activities characteristic of British residential courses ("weekends at old mansions with much manipulation of learning materials").

The corporate style, associated with the second objective, refers to any multifaceted staff-development program. The examples are drawn from descriptions of the pilot training complexes sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in the late '60s. The Bay Area Cooperative Teacher Center illustrates the corporate style:

> The central focus of the Center will be its role as a facilitating agency to (1) provide coordination for all teacher training activities now being conducted, from whatever source, by whatever person or agency, in order to achieve greater impact, cost effectiveness and improvement; (2) achieve more effective deployment of existing training efforts, particularly to individual school sites, and to the administrative and instructional personnel that work together at those sites; (3) develop new training programs or products or processes to meet currently unmet needs (Joyce and Weil, 1973, p. 11).

The competency-style center, associated with the third objective, is characterized by a "software" orientation. It is developed around sets of instructional systems designed to help teachers acquire specific teaching skills and strategies.

These excerpts from a report on the Texas Triple T Project exemplify the style:

> ...a Teacher Center requires diagnostic capability, a flexible modular training system, and a management system for relating the two, monitoring effectiveness and organizing program revision...
>
> ...the effectiveness of a Center will depend on the definition of working models of the teacher or aspects of teacher performance, and the development of training systems to bring about competence within the models of performance (Joyce and Weil, 1973, p. 14).

The typology helps clarify why the teacher center concept has generated its share of confusion. As we shall see, the various streams of influence embody different assumptions and have fostered discrete developments. When Devaney, of the Teachers' Centers Exchange, refers to the roots of the teacher center movement, she is thinking primarily of the British influence. When Schmieder, of the Office of Education, outlines the modern history of teacher centers, he stresses the impact of federal programs.

Second, the objectives point in potentially incompatible directions. In Chapter 4 of this volume, Buxton underscores the problem of "attending to the basic objectives and institutional procedures of the district" while at the same time supporting effective, nontraditional teachers who might otherwise leave the system. She also discusses what happens when the administration asks to use the TALC/Teacher Shelter in ways incompatible with the Center's commitment to voluntary participation, differentiated activities, and active learning (p. 77).

Third, the typology seems to imply that procedural differences are technical when, in fact, they are also normative. Whether "style of operation" refers to organizational format (corporate) or instructional strategy ("hands on" workshops), it carries messages about a center's values, beliefs, purposes. For example, the American counterpart of the British-style teacher center frequently offers informal curriculum workshops as part of its program. It is believed that these activities enable teachers to experience a new kind of "student" role as a basis for understanding how children learn. It is further assumed that without the understanding which comes from first-hand experience, teachers will not be able to implement informal teaching methods which rest on new views of learning. The underlying view of teaching and learn-

ing differs from the view behind a competency-based approach which seeks instructional improvement through skills training in particular teaching behaviors, and academic achievement through the delivery of skills to students.

Different conceptions of teacher centers rest on different views about what teachers need, how they learn, and who should control their education and training. These differences are reflected in the ways teacher centers conceptualize their purpose and carry on their work. While most center advocates believe that teachers should play a more active part in their own professional development, they do not envision the same means to that shared end nor interpret it in the same way. Similarly, how one thinks about assessing teachers' needs depends in part on how one views the teaching/learning process. For some teacher centers, the crucial element is not a diagnosis of deficiencies but a conviction about possibilities for growth.

> Comprehensive, technologically sophisticated needs assessment questionnaires seldom turn up new topics that could not be generated just as well by principals, resource teachers and consultants, teacher advisory groups, and by center staff's sensitivity to their participants and to which programs succeed and which flop. The essence of the teachers' centers' alternative style and setting for teachers' learning is in convincing the learner of his potential and responsibility for growth (Devaney, 1977, p. 24).

The most comprehensive effort to classify teacher centers in the United States, developed by Schmieder and Yarger (1974b), ignores these underlying differences and focuses instead on structure and function. Seven organizational patterns are identified: independent, almost independent, professional organization, single unit, free partnership, free consortium, and legislative/political consortium. The first three types are single-agency centers organized by *ad hoc* groups of teachers, teacher unions, universities, or school districts. The remaining types involve some collaborative arrangement between or among school systems, universities, state departments of education.

Presumably these organizational patterns capture the diversity of center structures; however, the data from which the typology was derived suggest that the most common type is "difficult to distinguish from conventional inservice programs" (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974b, p. 29). Nor does the formulation of different functional types - facilitating,

advocacy, responsive, functionally unique - clarify our original question about the special place of teacher centers.

The facilitating teacher center, which is compared with Joyce and Weil's informal British type, serves a "heuristic, colleagueal, almost social/educational function." The advocacy center "has a visible thrust and is committed to a particular philosophy, orientation or educational movement." Since many centers identified with open education see their function as facilitating teachers' personal and professional growth, it would be difficult to classify them according to this typology. Furthermore, a center could advocate the importance of being "responsive to the needs of individuals or institutions," which is how the third function is characterized. Responsive centers "help a potential client better understand his needs and then provide resources and/or training designed to fill those needs." A functionally unique center serves limited functions such as materials development, research and/or field testing of available materials. Have old-style R&D centers and curriculum projects changed more than their name? If function means "actions proper to an institution," then it is not clear what different actions are proper to facilitating, advocacy, and responsive centers. The only specific functions are those associated with the functionally unique type.

The limitations of the functional typology can be seen when the typology is applied to actual centers. Compare James Collins' description of the functions served by the Workshop Center for Open Education with two statements by the Center's director, Lillian Weber. Collins writes:

> Teacher centers such as the Workshop Center for Open Education in New York City...do not attempt to be responsive to the multiform needs of a general clientele but instead *advocate* a particular educational philosophy or thrust, i.e., open education. Other teacher centers...emphasize the development and dissemination of new *ideas* and *materials* (Collins, 1974, p. 14).

Weber writes:

> The Workshop Center is a free facility for all persons in the New York City area who are interested or involved in open education....It serves both as a resource and a refuge: each month it schedules workshops and seminars on topics of common concern and every day it provides a relaxed, supportive atmosphere for visitors to come and talk informally with staff and consultants, to browse, to work with materials, to try

> something new or to rethink something not so new. Above all, *it's a place for exploration of materials and ideas* - a place of learning (Weber and Dropkin, 1973, p. 14).

Actually, the Workshop Center for Open Education performs a combination of functions in response to the *diverse* needs of its clientele.

> The combination we have developed is an amalgam in which neither content nor problems of school and classroom reorganization have been central. Some participants have needed to reorder their store of content in basic areas - math, science, language; some have needed to explore new possibilities. Some have wanted to join together in shared study of questions relating to language development and reading. Others have wanted to discuss the external pressure for accountability in reading performance. Some have found in new companionship and shared experience the kind of support that relieved their anxiety about change. Others, not seeking immediate use, found relaxation and renewal participating in dance, photography and talk....We think the continuum of need will remain (Weber and Dropkin, 1973, p. 17).

If teacher centers have a unique place in the educational system, it is not readily apparent from most definitions and typologies. Nor does there appear to be a clear set of features which are agreed to be central to the teacher center concept. What is clear is the lack of agreement about the phenomena the term is intended to cover and the difficulty in formulating adequate descriptive categories.

In the face of this conceptual impasse, it makes sense to clear the ground, go back to the beginnings, and see how and why teacher centers got started. From the early formulations it may be possible to see more clearly what teacher centers represent.

In general, there seem to be two main currents influencing the teacher center concept - one grassroots current stimulated partly by British centers and a second stimulated by federal programs. A brief survey of these two streams of influence will illustrate how the teacher center came to be associated with varied purposes and why different people have fastened onto different features.

The British Influence and the U.S. Counterpart

From the start, British teacher centers reflected a concern to give teachers a high degree of professional and local independence and an active role in the development of new curricula. The movement gained impetus and direction from the Nuffield Foundation Primary Mathematics Project and the work of the teacher-dominated Schools Council, created in 1964.

Whereas the post-Sputnik curriculum reform projects in the United States sought to develop "teacher-proof" materials, the Nuffield Foundation involved teachers in the production of math curricula by including them on development teams and inviting local groups to try out drafts of materials and provide feedback to the developers. Typically these groups worked through the materials as learners, then explored ways of using them as teachers. Informal meetings formed the basis for much of this activity, and they became more widespread as developers tried to help teachers understand the spirit as well as the content of the new curricula. Over time, these local teacher groups became permanent teacher centers (Thornbury, 1974).

In Working Papers 2 and 10, the Schools Council (1965, 1967) urged the development of a network of teacher centers "with a steering committee of local teachers and no hierarchy of control." The early projects of the Schools Council, for example those connected with the raising of the school-leaving age (ROSLA), followed the Nuffield Model which relied on the efforts of a central curriculum development team with local trial and modification. Gradually more emphasis came to be placed on local curriculum development with or without the stimulation of national projects.

Working Paper 10, "Curriculum Development: Teachers' Groups and Centres," set forth the rationale behind British centers. This publication became a kind of manifesto for local initiative:

> The first basis on which development must rest is a keen interest on the part of teachers in curricular progress....The essence of curricular review and development is new thinking by the teachers themselves, as well as their appraisal of the thinking of others....
>
> The most important function (of local groups and centers) is undoubtably to focus local interest and to give teachers a setting within which new objectives can be discussed and defined and new ideas on content

> and methods in a variety of subjects can be aired... (Schools Council, 1967, p. 6).

Whether the focus was curricular innovation or curricular improvement, the belief that those who implement the changes must be directly involved in their formulation remained central. As Geoffrey Caston (1970), joint secretary of the Schools Council, observed: "Teacher skills and attitudes count a good deal more in curriculum renewal than do changes in content and materials."

The commitment to "local curriculum development" was emphasized at a series of conferences sponsored by the Schools Council in 1970 and attended by 300 participants. Despite their diverse backgrounds and experiences, participants agreed that the primary function of centers was "to make possible a review of existing curricula by groups of teachers and to encourage attempts by them to bring about changes." The other functions mentioned in Schools Council papers - providing a dissemination base for national projects and a setting for the increasing amount of required inservice training - were important; however, they did not constitute a reason for establishing a teacher center. The significance of teacher centers lay not in their buildings and equipment but in what they represented: "a movement to promote change in the curriculum which drew its strength from school-based developments and widespread participation of teachers who gave the lead in the whole process" (Schools Council, 1970, p. 27).

In Chapter 6 below, Taylor identifies three levels of curriculum change: minor improvements, major realignments of content, and methodological changes in learning style and classroom relationships. He relates the spread of teacher centers in Britain (and other OECD countries) to the kinds of revolutionary curricular changes being advocated, changes not only in the "what" but also in the "how" of pupil learning. To match revolutionary curricular change,

> the traditional "one-shot" inservice course is not enough; rather [a new style of inservice] teacher development [is now needed] - more participatory and cooperative, more extended and continuous, and therefore more "local" (p. 112).

He argues that the teacher center is a particularly effective inservice strategy at the *primary* level where change in teaching style is the main issue.

> A change in teaching style must be induced, not ordered, because it involves a change in beliefs and habits, not merely an addition of knowledge. A teacher requires time to grow in understanding and conviction and to work out the implications of the new style in his daily classroom practice. The *extended, participatory, voluntary,* and *local* inservice training offered by teacher centers suits such a change (p. 119; italics added).

The U.S. version of the British-style teacher center drew inspiration from the image of local groups of teachers voluntarily engaging in informal, curriculum-oriented activities. Early views were influenced by accounts of American visitors. Returning from a study visit, E. Brooks Smith (1973, p. 10) wrote:

> Valid and sincere involvement of teachers in curriculum development through the center device and with national leadership from the Schools Council is... producing an evolutionary change in British curriculum and instruction which is more child-centered, individualized, "informal" in approach and inquiry-focused than previously.

A number of small, grassroots centers were built on the British example to create American settings where elementary teachers could come on their own initiative and work on curriculum for their own classroom (Devaney and Thorn, 1975). "From our observation and study of British teacher centers," writes Amity Buxton, director of the Teachers' Active Learning Center/Teacher Shelter, "we adapted the British concept of a teacher center as a place where teachers are free to become learners and curriculum makers" (p. 75).

I am not suggesting that the U.S. teacher center is a British transplant. For one thing, British centers are embedded in the existing school structure while U.S. teacher centers represent an independent alternative. "Independent," however, does not necessarily mean separate from universities or school districts. (Fred Hayen explains how the Minneapolis Public Schools/University of Minnesota Teacher Center is rooted in "traditional teacher center roles and alternative school development" [p.89].) Rather it refers to programmatic independence which preserves the center's credibility with teachers and its capacity to respond in flexible and experimental ways. It is a response to the absence of persons in the American system who can provide pedagogical leadership and help teachers but who are not connected with the school hierarchy that determines promotion and tenure.

Many of these centers were also inspired by curriculum projects like the Elementary Science Study and various efforts by Americans to adapt methods associated with British primary schools. "Active learning" and "open education" imply major changes in classroom structure and process, and this in turn requires a new style of inservice education. Thus, efforts to overcome the mismatch between traditional classrooms and children's way of learning were linked with efforts to overcome the mismatch between traditional forms of teacher education and teachers' ways of learning.

What makes teacher centers different from conventional inservice programs? From five years of close observation as director of the Teachers' Centers Exchange, Devaney concludes that teacher centers are set apart not by a particular organizational form but by a set of shared educational beliefs and practices. She offers the following formulations:

> Teachers' centers respond to teachers' own definitions of their continuing learning needs by offering assistance and instruction that help teachers enrich and activate the learning experience of the children in their classroom;
>
> Centers provide an environment where teachers may come to work on materials or projects for their classrooms, receive instruction individually and together, and encourage each other;
>
> Centers advise and assist teachers in their schools, working in the spirit of finding the teachers' own starting points for improvement;
>
> Centers urge teachers to take more not less responsibility for curriculum and instruction decisions in the school and the classroom; they encourage teachers to participate in the design of professional development programs (Lance and Kreitzman, 1977, p. xviii).

Four of the six teacher centers described in Chapter 2 of this volume - the Learning Exchange, Minneapolis Public Schools/University of Minnesota Teacher Center, Teachers' Active Learning Center/Teacher Shelter, and West Genesee/Syracuse University Teaching Center - appear in the Directory of the Teachers' Centers Exchange (Lance and Kreitzman, 1977). The reader is encouraged to search for these similarities in what appear on the surface to be quite dissimilar organizations.

About one hundred teachers' centers exist across the country. The apostrophe is intended to separate them from "teach-

ing centers which are essentially not places and people, but organizational systems for collaboration among a state education agency, college of education and public school district to accomplish both preservice and inservice education" (Devaney and Thorn, 1975, p. 35). The latter is closer to the center concept which the U.S. Office of Education has supported through a succession of programs over the past ten years.

The Federal Influence

The center idea was formally pursued by the Office of Education because of a recommendation from a NDEA* National Institute created in 1966 to assess long-range needs in teacher education. Two years of study and research produced a report called *Teachers for the Real World* and the major recommendation that a national network of training complexes be developed (Smith, *et al.*, 1969).

The argument behind the recommendation focused on inadequacies in the content and structure of conventional teacher education programs. Teacher education is defective because it provides little or no training in the skills of teaching. A training component has not been devised because theoretical courses and direct experience are considered adequate in principle, and because the essentials of training have not been spelled out. Training requires a controlled setting where specified behaviors can be practiced and feedback given until the desired level of skillfulness is achieved (Smith, *et al.*, 1969, p. 77-78).

Although technically the universities and the schools share the responsibility for teacher training, the job suffers because neither institution views it as a major responsibility. Universities are devoted to the pursuit of knowledge; schools to the education of children and youth. Universities are too far removed from the practicalities of teaching; schools lack the resources to sustain a comprehensive training program. In order to provide the needed training, a new institution should be established as a joint enterprise of the universities, the schools, and the community (Smith, *et al.*, 1969, p. 95).

Convinced of the power of the concept, the Bureau of Education Professions Development created the Ad Hoc National

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*National Defense Education Act

Advisory Committee on Training Complexes (see Cohen and Lichtenberg, 1970). The committee launched four structural and three functional pilot projects and recommended that a new advisory group be established to continue developing the idea (Rosner, 1972). Task Force '72 was given the responsibility; its members conferred with the Committee on National Program Priorities in Teacher Education, created by the Office of Education to develop a five-year plan. The Committee endorsed competency-based teacher education and certification and viewed the training complex as an appropriate vehicle.

The training complex would be staffed by elementary and secondary teachers and university personnel skilled in teacher training and devoted to the ideal of training. The reward system would support training, not research and publication. Initially the training complex was supposed to prepare and store training materials; train beginning teachers in a set of initial competencies; offer courses, workshops, institutes to experienced teachers; train auxiliary personnel. The functions were gradually expanded to include "serving as a regional delivery system for educational innovations" and as a coordinating mechanism for federal and other outside programs directed at improving local educations systems. Early formulations emphasized preservice training; later versions stressed inservice training.

A modification of the training complex concept was incorporated into the short-lived educational renewal strategy, designed to "create self-sustaining reform mechanisms" and "significantly raise the performance of school children from low-income families in urban and rural areas (Welsh, 1972). States would get funds to establish a state renewal center and would share the task of approving local applications for renewal sites with the Office of Education. The commitment of local sites to "sweeping change" would be determined by the *comprehensiveness* of their proposed programs and the *specificity* of their objectives.

Each local site would be served by a Teacher Center, with size and functions dependent on local needs and plans. They could be mobilization points for technical assistance, training, evaluation expertise, and dissemination of information about products of R&D and other resources to meet the needs of schools.

With the explicit use of the term "teacher center" came an acknowledgement of the teacher's central role in change, an idea integral to the British-inspired center. "No matter how good an innovation, no matter how promising a technique," wrote Marland, Commissioner of Education at the time, "unless the teacher truly accepts it, believes deeply in it, and pos-

sesses it as his own, no change will occur" (Marland, 1972, p. 29). Still, the strategy embodied contradictory expectations. The conditions required to help teachers evaluate, understand, and internalize new methods and materials may be incompatible, at least in the short run, with the conditions required to produce specific and measurable student outcomes. A commitment to foster teachers' understanding of needed changes cannot automatically guarantee specific and observable behaviors on the part of teachers or students.

The Office of Education kept the idea alive through the National Teacher Center Project, created in 1971. Four sites received planning grants to develop teacher centers which would (a) "deliver validated practice and processes from educational research to public schools"; (b) "improve the quality and delivery of inservice education"; (c) "promote better needs assessment"; and (d) "create some form of collaboration in training programs for all school personnel" (Covert, *et al.*, 1974).

Texas received one of the four planning grants. Ryan's sketch on "teacher centering" in Chapter 4 shows how various political and legislative influences coalesced in a statewide project. Texas already had a coordinating mechanism at the state level (the Texas Educational Renewal Center) linked to a network of mandated Local Cooperative Teacher Education Centers (now called Teacher Centers) serving Education Service Center regions. It is difficult to visualize the kinds of services this large-scale, collaborative organization actually delivers to teachers. The generality of the description matches the generality of the statement of purpose: "Improving what happens to boys and girls in the elementary and secondary schools is the underlying goal in all the various actions collected under the teacher center label" (p. 80).

Blending the Currents of Influence

Because the West Genesee/Syracuse University Teaching Center seems to blend both streams of influence, it provides an instructive case. The rationale for the creation of the Center recalls the training complex. In 1973, the Division of Teacher Education of the Syracuse University School of Education and the West Genesee School District decided to collaborate in the training of teachers. "In the preservice area, the goal was to establish a model competency-based training program. In the inservice area, the aim was to improve instruction in schools. Theory and practice would unite through

university/school collaboration" (p. 70). The schools help the university to design appropriate field experiences for preservice students; in exchange, the university helps the schools to design appropriate staff development activities. More than a linkage of vested interests, however, the Center appears to be a genuinely unique organization, reciprocal and people-oriented, capable of responding in flexible and diverse ways to individual and institutional needs. San Jose characterizes the real accomplishment of the Center not in terms of improved practices but in terms of participants' sense of professional pride and individual worth, without which the Center would be merely a lifeless, static institutional structure:

> As mandated centers and inducements for their establishment become increasingly common, it is vital to remember that the technology of improved instruction and the mechanics of delivery must be animated by personal and professional commitment (p. 72).

The Federal Program

The federal teacher center program incorporates structural and programmatic aspects from both streams of influence. The legislation represents some shift in the power arrangements in teacher education and in the point of departure for programs of inservice training. It endorses the schools, not the university, as the main focus and locale for inservice work, and it gives classroom teachers a major responsibility to determine the kinds of training experiences they need. The term "teacher center" is defined as a site, operated by a local education agency, where teachers have the opportunity to "develop and produce curricula designed to meet...educational needs" and to "provide training to improve the skills of teachers...." (*Public Law 94-482,* 1976). The phrases which qualify these two main activities concern the role of experts and specialists. There seems to be an attempt to integrate a commitment to local curriculum development and training *by* teachers *for* teachers, with a belief in the necessary contribution of educational research and development to the improvement of practice. There is no explicit endorsement of collaboration between universities and schools, an idea central to the training complex. Some funds are earmarked for centers run by institutions of higher education, and at least one university or college representative must serve on center policy boards. State education departments have a major role in re-

commending proposals, as they did in the short-lived educational renewal program.

Responsibility for determining the organizing mission of the teacher center is lodged in a policy board whose membership must include a majority of elementary and secondary teachers. The provision seems to secure the center's programmatic independence from the administration, but it cannot guarantee an innovative program because there are no substantive goals to guide the selection of members or the creation of programs. That is why Peterson argues in Chapter 7 that "Congress has substituted process for policy":

> Instead of defining the goals of teacher centers, it (Congress) has established a governing arrangement which is supposed to formulate center objectives.... Nothing explicit links teacher centers to the innovative educational concepts that originally animated the movement" (p. 131).

Peterson asserts that the vagueness with which the teacher center concept has been institutionalized nationally gives urgency to problems of governance. I believe this vagueness gives urgency to problems of purpose as well. Too often social movements last only as long as their charismatic leadership and fail to become institutionalized. One reason is the absence of a firm purpose to shape policy and guide action. Without a common purpose there are only procedures and structures.

There is a real danger that the intent of the legislation will be narrowly defined in terms of giving teachers control over inservice programming. The issue is not simply a matter of insuring appropriate teacher representation but rather of establishing the conditions to promote active involvement in professional growth and planned change. The control which stems from a sense of professional efficacy cannot be achieved only by giving teachers more power over decisions about inservice activities. As Jackson (1976, p. 29) suggests in his cryptic prescription for reforming inservice education, teachers need time as well as power:

> First, we can work to give teachers at all levels more time to think about what they are doing and second, we can try to alter the power structure in education so that teachers have more control over their professional destinies and administrators have less.

School organization and classroom realities make it hard for teachers to think systematically about their teaching.

In the face of diverse pressures and inadequate support, it is not surprising that they often rely on ready-made materials and routine activities. Giving teachers time to think about their work will not make a difficult job any easier, but it may increase the possibility that they will approach it in a more serious and professional way.

Some people believe that provision for participation in center-type activities during the school day would be an especially strong incentive for teachers and a clear sign that the administration wants a new form of inservice education. Probably some combination of personal and release time is in order. But time alone will not suffice. There must also be an institutional climate that supports and encourages teachers' efforts to learn more about what they are doing and the intellectual leadership to inspire and guide sound experimentation.

Too literal a view of professional self-determination can be self-defeating in other ways. Thornbury in Chapter 3 comments that British teacher centers would profit from having public representation on their managing boards, and he laments the fact that centers have not built better bridges with colleges and universities. Hayen also argues against the diminished role of teacher training institutions. "Without the base of theory and research provided by institutions of higher education, our profession would quickly revert to a simple craft, subject to elimination by the do-it-yourself movement" (p. 90, 91). While the vitality of teacher centers depends on the initiative and involvement of local clientele, centers need a broader reference group than teachers alone.

The Place of Teacher Centers

The teacher center concept can be viewed both narrowly and broadly. More narrowly, it is not a permanent place but a transient delivery system bringing technical assistance to schools and districts. Another conception implies a stable place which houses materials for study and exhibit, offers courses and workshops of varying lengths and levels, and serves as an informal setting for collegial interaction. More broadly, a teacher center can become a neutral setting and a coordinating mechanism for bringing together a variety of people and resources in cooperative inquiry about educational problems.

In studying effective staff development programs, researchers from the Rand Corporation discovered that successful districts did not have a *program per se,* but a *point of*

view which explicitly acknowledged teachers as professionals and visibly supported their efforts to grow and learn. One tangible sign of commitment to this point of view was the existence of a teacher center which provided a context for "useful peer interaction, for cross-fertilization, and for peer evaluation." The researchers judged these informal activities as more important than any new technologies or programs that were part of the formal teacher center program (McLaughlin, 1977, p. 80).

The notion that effective staff development is less a function of a particular program and more a function of certain expectations is relevant to a broad understanding of the teacher center concept. Brügelmann's analysis of the teacher center experience in West Germany (Chapter 2) illustrates this point.

Brügelmann explores the implications of the teacher center idea in three different contexts - curriculum development, in-service education, curricular evaluation. He uses brief case studies to show that "it is not the *institution* as such that matters, but rather certain *principles of work* relevant to quite different activities." While the principles can be realized in many different ways, the institutional and normative setting will determine how or whether the essence of the teacher center idea is preserved. The federal legislation presents an opportunity to examine the structures and attitudes which prevent schools from using the center invention, and the forms of "grassroots participation...experimental decision making and nonhierarchical cooperation" which would allow it to prosper as an institution.

There is no getting around the fact that the teacher center idea requires changes in role definitions and new uses of time and resources. The concept implies a new relationship among teaching, research and development, and administration, a relationship which endorses the teacher as the person most responsible for and knowledgable about the educational work of schools. Research becomes a valuable counterpart to improved practice, helping teachers study what goes on in their classrooms and focusing on problems they meet. Curriculum development provides options to be tested by teachers under different conditions and adapted to local circumstances. Administration works to secure a framework within which experimental thinking can thrive.

What is the place of teacher centers in the educational system? Brügelmann provides a succinct summary:

> They (teacher centers) have a special and crucial task in supporting teachers and facilitating their everyday work and thus in complementing activities of other

> agencies rather than replacing them....They focus on consolidating good practice, fostering the exchange of ideas and experience available in schools themselves, creating self-confidence and rendering new ideas manageable in practice (p. 50).

Their place cannot be legislated from the top down because it evolves over time in a context of cooperation and shared inquiry. It also requires a scale of operation small enough to foster a climate of trust among local constitutents and broad enough to encompass the resources, expertise, and power necessary to bring about planned change.

Comprehensive training programs may be efficient for bringing about broad-scale change at a minimal level, but they are not appropriate for cultivating the kind of intellectual seriousness and inventiveness which characterizes a professional way of working. The view of a teacher center as a delivery system bringing validated products to teachers in schools ignores the functional necessity of local adaptation and the psychological necessity of individual commitment to change. It preempts the understanding and problem-solving capacity of those most familiar with the settings to be changed, and it ignores the very incentive that teacher centers are intended to tap. The qualities comprising what Thelen (1974, p. 73) calls "professional dialogue" capture the spirit of the teacher center approach: "intensity of personal involvement, immediate consequences for classroom practice, stimulation and ego-support from meaningful associates in the situation, initiation by teachers rather than by outsiders." Their opposites - dependence, noninvolvement, superficial cooperation, and nonpurposiveness - are antithetical to the teacher center concept.

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II

THE EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER 2

TEACHER CENTER ON PAPER? FROM BRITISH PRACTICE TO GERMAN IDEOLOGY

HANS BRÜGELMANN

Import and Export in Educational Affairs: The Issue of Intercultural Transfer

Comparative studies are delicate even though intercultural misunderstandings may lead to successful innovations in a new setting. Educational events, in particular, are highly context-dependent. Generalizing from one classroom to another *within* a national system poses so many problems that one may reasonably doubt the transferability of a whole institution from one educational culture to another. The teacher center in Britain is just another example of the problem of reducing complex social realities to one idea, however powerful. Still, the political potential inherent in a persuasive myth should not be ignored.

In West Germany, the teacher center *idea* and not the institution as such became influential. From a highly differentiated social development, a number of specific features associated with the British model were abstracted: teacher participation in curriculum development, local autonomy in curriculum planning, action-research in classrooms. During the initial phase of creating awareness, this reduction of an innovation may be necessary to help others understand its significance as an alternative; it can also be helpful during the implementation phase because it allows the basic concept to be modified to fit a different cultural setting. Moreover, references to an *institution* that exists elsewhere may help overcome resistance by demonstrating that the institution is viable . Such an idealized abstraction, however, can easily miss the implicit essentials, including the osmotic relationship

between institutions and their historical context which keeps them alive. There is also the danger of arguing about "models" in an artificial way without practical relevance to the disputed differences. It has been argued, for example, that teacher centers cannot be planned in detail according to a general blueprint; they simply have to grow!

Despite these reservations, a lesson can be learned from the teacher center movement in the Federal Republic where the debate has been more comprehensive than in the United States and more sophisticated than in Britain. A consideration of the *shortcomings* of our efforts to establish teacher centers, the *intentions* behind these efforts, and the specific *conditions* that may account for certain problems could help others implement the teacher center idea under conditions different from those in Britain during the last 10 years. Moreover, in West Germany the teacher center idea has had considerable impact on thinking and practice in areas as different as curriculum politics, inservice education, and curriculum evaluation. In this broader sense of "intercultural transfer," we have benefited tremendously from the British experience.

Teacher Centers: Spearhead of a New Ideology of Curriculum

In the Federal Republic, awareness of the teacher center movement was first generated by an article by Owen (1971) and heightened by a number of reports from German visitors to Britain in 1972 and 1973 (Brügelmann, 1972a&b; Gerbaulet, *et al.*, 1972; Kröll, 1973) and accounts of similar institutions in Scandinavia, the United States, and Canada (Bauersfeld and Brügelmann, 1972; Gerbaulet, *et al.*, 1972; Samtleben, 1974). Most of these publications were consciously used to promote a new understanding of what curriculum development is or should be about; for example, political proposals to establish regional inservice centers in Hesse explicitly refer to these reports (Haller and Wolf, 1973, references). The German Educational Council, the central advisory body on educational affairs in the Federal Republic from 1965 to 1975, supported its recommendations for "practice-oriented curriculum development" (Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1974) with papers on the British, Swedish, and American experience (Owen, 1972; Taylor, 1972; Bauersfeld and Brügelmann, 1972; Havelock, 1976). "Open curricula" and "school-based curriculum development," two key notions created in 1972, were highly publicized in the following years and explicitly linked to the teacher center idea and experience (Brügelmann, 1972c; Gerbaulet, *et al.*, 1972).

To understand the impact of these concepts, the philosophy they represent, and the resistance they encountered, it is useful to examine the curriculum situation in the Federal Republic. American concepts of curriculum innovation, which had been imported in the late 1960s, created some of the barriers to the teacher center movement. The amalgamation of an effective bureaucracy established during the 1818 reform of the Prussian administration with the technological optimism of positivistic research and RD&D thinking created its own problems. Therefore, the potential and the weakness of the teacher center model as a *counterforce to centralization* may become more visible in the West German system than in any other.

To explore the ideological implications of conflicting images of curriculum development, I shall briefly sketch two models which illuminate the consistency of assumptions about the relationship between teaching and learning, research and teaching, and curriculum politics and development. The first model was powerful in the late '60s, the second in the early '70s.

Figure 1 illustrates how the role of teachers and teacher centers change in relation to their ideological context, although the institution itself may look very familiar.

(1) Starting *from the top* of the chart, curriculum development looks like this:

(a) A number of agencies try to influence what is going on in the classroom by defining *inputs for curriculum planning or frame factors* for its implementation. *Politicians* lay down basic aims (e.g., in curriculum guidelines), *administrators* specify them in more detail (e.g., through regulating teachers' qualifications), the *academic disciplines* provide authoritative subject-matter structures, learning theories, curriculum models.

(b) *Curriculum developers* (e.g., projects, publishers, teacher groups) translate such elements into *consistent programs-on-paper* by defining and materializing general pedagogical strategies as well as strategies of innovation. They aim at transmitting the message intact from the center to the periphery.

(c) *Teachers* bring such programs into life under the particular circumstances of their classrooms. In a *teacher-as-trainer* model, they are charged with the responsibility of getting their *students* to follow the curriculum-on-paper and to achieve the prespecified knowledge, ability, and attitudes.

Figure 1.

TRANSLATING CURRICULA-ON-PAPER INTO CLASSROOMS-IN-ACTION: THE NEED FOR "OPENNESS"

Model 2	Actors	Frames of Reference	Medium of Action	Audiences	Model 1
Step 4	Politicians, Administrators, Researchers	Divergent political values and discipline-centred images of education	Legal rules and theoretical models	Developers, teachers, the public	Step 1
Step 3	Curriculum developers, Publishers, In-service trainers	Abstracted 'archetypes' of teaching-learning situations	General curriculum-on-paper	Teachers and students with stereotyped characteristics	Step 2
		T E A C H E R C E N T E R			
Step 2	Teachers	An 'idealized' specific situation with anticipated variations	Specific curriculum-in-mind	Students with known or assumed characteristics	Step 3
Step 1	Teachers, students	Personal encounters in an unique and dynamic situation defined through different perspectives	Immediate curriculum-in-action	Face-to-face interaction with active and responsive people	Step 4

Adapted from Brügelmann, 1975a.

This interpretation of the chart is linked to such notions as "teacher-proof curricula," "center-periphery model," "programmed learning," all of which neglect the complexities involved in *translating* ideas from one stage to another. To be successful in practice, each step demands creative thinking and careful reinterpretation according to the values of different audiences and the different conditions under which the plans must be implemented. Often curriculum development fails because participants stereotype both the needs of their audiences and the anticipated implementation settings. Clearly one cannot avoid defining general frames of reference for teaching and learning; however, such specifications must remain tentative. Research, curriculum development, teaching should all yield *hypotheses* that can illuminate enquiries and support the activities of their respective audiences rather than preempt their understanding and decisions.

(2) A more open and responsive type of curriculum development comes from reading the chart *from the bottom up*.

(a) One starts with the *students*, their actual interests and cognitive maps, their social background and individual biography. The image of the *teacher-as-therapist* fits the task of exploring these starting points, stimulating learning, and challenging students' beliefs. It is the teacher's responsibility to find materials, ideas, and problems and to arrange them in a productive way, i.e., match them to the cognitive and emotional images of his students.

(b) This understanding of the teacher's role has consequences for the task of *curriculum developers* who must provide program *options* that are responsive to different values and situational variables. Supporting the teacher in this way means helping him experiment with ideas, monitor his classroom-in-action, develop his own pedagogy.

(c) *Researchers* would be asked to investigate basic issues, to contribute special expertise for solving crucial problems, and to offer a critical counterpart capable of challenging established practice. Thus, research would function in an advisory capacity. Similarly, the role of *administration* would shift from prescribing what and how schools should teach to securing a *framework* within which pluralistic and experimental thinking can flourish.

Despite the oversimplification, there is an important lesson to learn from contrasting these two models of curriculum development. Whatever the initial conception of a teacher center, its actual work and impact will depend on the *normative and institutional context* within which it is located.

In a hierarchically organized system producing increasingly specific prescriptions for each step, teacher centers can only be another linkage agency closing apparent "translation gaps" and strengthening the efficiency of the system (Model 1). In a cooperative network of experiments based on tentative specifications, teacher centers can become a crucial instrument in the hands of practitioners for accumulating and exchanging experience gained under varying conditions (Model 2).

Moreover, the extent to which the *institutional* situation resembles Model 1 or Model 2 will determine how the *teacher center idea* can best be preserved. There is a certain ambiguity about introducing teacher centers in West Germany. Either you try to change parts of the system in accordance with the teacher center *idea*, thereby giving up some of its original features, or you succeed in preserving its overt *form* within a different political context, thereby giving up some of its essential claims. Either way involves a compromise. The potential of an idea like the teacher center for disturbing the system is evident from a brief look at the historical context of the West German curriculum system.

*Toward an "Enlightened Bureaucracy" Model in Curriculum Development**

In West Germany, education is one of the few prerogatives left to the eleven *Länder* (states) by the 1949 Constitution. In terms of organizational structure and curriculum guidelines, we have eleven school systems, although at first glance they look rather similar. All these systems are organized vertically; teachers are civil servants at the bottom of an administrative hierarchy. Legally binding guidelines for all aspects of schooling are laid down by the Minister and his officials in the state department of education, specified by the regional offices, and executed by the headmaster of the school. In spite of this differentiated pyramid of formal responsibilities, most significant curriculum decisions occur at three levels where curricula "materialize" in different forms:

Curriculum guidelines, issued by the departments of education, which establish the aims and principles of teach-

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*Readers not familiar with the German system will find a more detailed account in Hopes and Brügelmann (1977) from which the summary in this section has partly been drawn.

ing a certain subject to a specific age group, e.g., by prescribing middle range objectives and content areas;

Teaching and learning materials, sometimes developed by university projects but usually written by two or three teachers and marketed by publishers after approval by the ministries of the Länder concerned;

Lesson plans, mostly prepared informally by the teacher for his own class although sometimes coordinated at the school or age group level, e.g., in the new comprehensive schools.

This system, unchanged for 150 years, depends on a constellation of different political, economic, and social factors. During the last 25 years, four phases relevant to our topic can be distinguished:

Phase 1: The Hidden Bureaucracy Model. Curriculum innovation as a planned process did not exist in the 1950s and early 1960s in West Germany. At that time, curriculum changes happened as the result of gradual shifts in the thinking of politicians, administrators, practitioners, publishers, and the public; or they were forced upon the schools by economic and technological developments. The broad and diffuse consensus was hardly questioned in public. Conflicts were seen as individual pathologies. Should somebody dare, however, to violate this hidden consensus, the administration was willing and able to intervene. Thus, one could interpret the curriculum system at that time as a *hidden* bureaucracy.

This picture contrasts sharply with the situation today. First, the bureaucratic structure is not hidden. Deliberate educational policymaking and extensive planning of innovation make the role of the administration more visible and bring conflicts of a more fundamental nature into the open. Complex changes seem to demand comprehensive interventions. At the same time, the spectrum of values in society has diverged. While this situation makes "power-coercive" strategies appear increasingly attractive, the bureaucratic model has not only become more apparent, it has also lost its purity.

Phase 2: The Search for a Neutral Technocracy. "Effectiveness through centralization" was one of the claims of the technological movement in the field of social innovation during the 1960s. Not surprisingly, the belief that successful innovation depends on direction from a powerful center controlling the allocation of resources for high priority purposes within a generally agreed reform program led to the first attack on the coexistence of eleven independent bureaucracies. Moreover, the purely legal instrumentation of state

intervention came under severe criticism. In the late 1960s, increasing political pressure to justify the goals of education and improve its effectiveness coincided with the beginnings of the establishment of an "educational science" in West Germany, a new start after thirty years (Brügelmann, 1975b). This delay was due mainly to the emigration of most prominent social scientists during the Nazi regime. The lack of a research tradition led to a ready and uncritical acceptance of current models of curriculum planning in the U.S. where the prevalent paradigm was technological, a "teacher-proof curriculum" structured around behavioral objectives and embedded in a center-periphery strategy of research, development, and dissemination.

This model was clearly *expert-oriented*. It relied on the capacity of specialist teams and the potential of concentrated resources to change practice. Other assumptions were the possibility of anticipating conflicting goal-structures and different implementation settings; of developing adequate curriculum solutions on a general level that would work in different contexts; of prescribing action in detail at the center and disseminating the prescriptions intact into the classroom. The problem-solving capacity of experts, then, was the credo of such large-scale curriculum development projects as "Science - a Process Approach" in the U.S. and "IMU" in Sweden. In Germany, one

> of the first measures planned was the establishment of a central agency for the planning and documentation of curriculum research and development. This scheme was further proof of the tendency of the German educational authorities to deal with the problem at a centralized bureaucratic level. It was not implemented because the Federal Government and the *Länder* Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs could not agree on the distribution of financial responsibility and voting powers. With this the problem was shelved, and not solved (Herz, 1973, p.232).

Still, the late 1960s saw a remarkable shift toward a "technological model," built on the assumed problem-solving capacity of the theoretical state of the art of curriculum change and the persuasiveness of its solutions. This new approach was still embedded in a top-down strategy of innovation. Formally, researchers were dependent on the administration (although, *de facto*, their authority was attributed to the power of research). The emerging role of the academic disciplines became visible in the numerous research projects carried on by groups supporting or evaluating curriculum

experiments. Some of the Länder even set up state institutes of educational research or planning and development. These differed in style: Bavaria had a more positive design; Hesse, a more action-research approach.

Phase 3: The Move Toward Participation and Cooperation. Inevitably, the tidy conceptualization of educational change within the RD&D model led to difficulties in practice. Increasingly, elements of a problem-solving model were introduced into the strategies, and curriculum development became more *practice-oriented*. This shift is linked to the broader movement of *democratization* in Western society. Participation of audiences in policymaking is seen as an important means to increase the legitimacy of decisions. Teachers' unions and parents' associations, for example, now have the right to comment on curriculum proposals. It is increasingly recognized that the impact of innovations depends on the early involvement of those affected. Furthermore, people at the grass-roots level can contribute their expertise regarding the specific conditions under which learning is to take place. They have access to a body of experience and ideas which can greatly increase the adequacy of curriculum planning.

This movement stems only in part from the *political* demand for more democratization; the problem-solving model should also be seen as a *functional* corrective to the traditional center-periphery strategies. Apparently, this trend toward a cooperative network of innovative activities answers a need felt in most Western countries (CERI, 1973).

From 1971 on, the grass-roots movement also gained political prestige through the recommendations of the German Educational Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1973; 1974). In Hesse, for example, four experimental Regional Inservice Centers were set up to support the curriculum work of teachers' groups within a broader framework of curriculum guidelines than had been the case before. Regional Educational Centers are attempting to reduce the distance of the teacher from planners or other teachers. Two centers, one in Rhineland-Palatinate and one in Lower Saxony, were set up on an experimental basis after the Bildungsrat recommended that 60 to 70 centers should be created to bring curriculum development closer to the practice of teaching in the schools. The regional educational center is conceived to have two functions - to reach out to the local schools in a region and to provide a staff of resident experts composed of experienced teachers and researchers. Teachers are invited to cooperate with the full-time staff in developing instructional modules within the curricular guidelines.

In Lower Saxony, the development of the curriculum guidelines has been decentralized and linked to experiments in different schools. Berlin invited the future teachers of the new middle school centers to participate in a rather extensive inservice education program, to plan new curricula for their schools, to clarify the pedagogy with their future colleagues, and to develop materials. The Catholic and Protestant Churches, responsible for religious education in the schools, started to build up regional frameworks of teachers' groups supported by consulting specialists. Model programs for developing kindergarten curricula were suggested to local units and coordinated, rather than directed, by the central group in Munich.

Phase 4: The Consolidation of a "Mixed Bureaucracy" Model. These moves toward decentralization of resources and decision making came to a standstill partly because of the economic plight. In addition, the administration seems fearful that left-wing teachers will pour into schools from "socialist universities;" politicians want to eliminate the trouble caused by school conflicts and curricular innovations (new math, sex education, ordinary language approach, project work in social studies) especially during election campaigns; parents confronted with poor job prospects insist that their children receive "good instruction" and cease to be abused as educational "guinea pigs."

The recent backlash restricting local autonomy is more than a significant political development; it is an economic one as well. Economic concerns can jeopardize the capacity of the system to address the problem of educational improvement because they limit people's willingness to try out new things and reduce the spectrum of alternative experiments and critical filters in the system. Still, I would maintain that the revitalized bureaucracy model of today has little in common with its predecessor of the 1950s and early 1960s. The administration has been reorganized and reoriented; tasks have shifted from an inspection to an advisory role; attitudes of administrators have changed, as have the expectations of their consumers; teachers and parents have become more self-confident. The spectrum of values acceptable to the public has broadened, although boundaries are more clearly defined than they were at the end of the 1960s.

Is the emerging "mixed bureaucracy" model better than what we had before? In spite of our higher aspirations ten years ago, I would say, "Yes." Clearly, this is not the system we dreamed of in 1967 or 1972, the honeymoon of people working for more justice, equality, and freedom in our society. We had to learn that social change is a slow and controversial

process, that reforms often turn out differently than their authors intended. Still, the present situation holds some potential for further shifts toward an "enlightened bureaucracy" model, while demands for the "abolition of bureaucracy" may be just another example of naive faith in panaceas which create rather than solve problems.

I prefer to speculate about the fate of the teacher center idea by exploring its implications in three different contexts. First, I want to show that it is not the *institution* as such that matters, but rather certain *principles of work* relevant to quite different types of activities, e.g., curriculum development, inservice education, and evaluation, and that it may be a central feature of the teacher center to bring these closer together. Second, I want to show that the teacher center idea implies a new relationship among teaching, research, and administration, and that it may be essential for bridging the gap among them. Attention will be drawn to societal, institutional, and attitudinal preconditions for, or barriers to, successful implementation of the teacher center idea.

*Political Implications of the Teacher Center Idea: The Regional Education Centers in Hesse**

Hesse, one of the eleven Länder of the Federal Republic, prides itself in being "progressive." Although less than 10 percent of the West German population live in Hesse, they have established more than half of the 125 "integrated" comprehensive schools which have been called one of our largest "societal experiments" (Raschert, 1975) to promote equality of educational opportunity by integrating our tripartite system. The curriculum guidelines for social studies and German were even attacked as "Marxist" during the 1973 election campaign.

In setting up its comprehensive schools, Hesse gave teachers considerable freedom to develop their own curricula. This grass-roots approach worked well during the pioneer phase when it was limited to a few schools which had attracted highly motivated and competent teachers. The isolation of schools and

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*Part of this summary has been drawn from Brügelmann (1975c); for a more detailed account of the Hesse strategy of decentralizing inservice education and linking it to curriculum experiments, see Haller and Wolf (1976).

the workload, however, became unbearable as the number of comprehensive schools increased. Different kinds of support groups were set up. Finally, in 1970, a coordinating Curriculum Committee was created, and 150 teachers from innovative schools and universities were asked to cooperate in developing new guidelines for secondary schools. It was a fascinating attempt to link grass-roots experiment to a long-term strategy of innovation. It meant, of course, that the autonomy of the schools and the need for coordination had to be reconciled. Political conflict had to be accepted as an intrinsic feature of the work.

This was not understood by all parties. The administration in particular felt that progress was too slow and its direction not clear enough. Therefore, it set up small working parties of teachers and subject specialists (similar to the traditional model of state guideline committees) under the auspices of the Ministry. In 1972, after a period of almost secret work which aroused the suspicions of a number of teachers, the guidelines for the age groups 6-10 and 10-16 were offered to schools for a one-year experimental phase. The Ministry also established four regional centers to support teachers willing to cooperate in the experiment. The aim was to initiate a continuous process of school-based curriculum development that could offer a worthwhile experience in inservice education to a larger number of teachers.

Being progressive, Hesse had also institutionalized procedures by which teachers, students, and parents could participate in educational decision making. It was hoped that this would both *democratize* the school system and make it more *innovative*. When certain parent and teacher groups organized themselves effectively and blocked the experiment in many schools, the Ministry found itself caught between conflicting aims; either it had to give up its general policy of increasing grass-roots participation or abandon the short-term implementation of its progressive guidelines.

The motives for the Ministry's initiatives and for the grass-roots resistance are, of course, more complex than has been made explicit in this short sketch. Besides the political context, however, the following characteristics of the establishment of regional centers are significant. They were set up by the *central* administration with one of the 50% federal grants for educational innovation mentioned earlier; money was secured only for a five-year *experimental* period; an extensive evaluation program was set up to *support and monitor* the work of the centers and to provide data for the Ministry to decide at the end of the five-year period whether to extend the lifetime of the centers.

Again, we are confronted with a paradoxical situation. It was the aim of the Ministry to foster grass-roots participation by establishing teacher centers, but the strategy used in setting them up was closely linked to a center-periphery dissemination model based on administrative decision-making power and the problem-solving capacity of researchers. Thus, people working in the centers had to respond to the expectations of two opposite audiences: one deciding formally about the survival of the centers, the other - the teachers - deciding about the practical success of the centers. Moreover, because of economic problems and increasing pressures on the Ministry from the changing balance of political power in Parliament, criteria for assessing the success of the centers shifted. The grass-roots model lost its attractiveness, and efficiency in inservice training became the new standard. Now, at the end of the experimental phase (1976-77), there is a strong tendency to reduce centers' support and incorporate them as outposts of a central institute of educational planning ("HIBS"). The Hesse system soon may resemble the Bavarian model which is based on a highly expert- and material-oriented approach.

The shift in Hesse is somewhat surprising considering the success of the model centers relative to their original charge. Let me start with some data about their establishment (Klüsche and Wolf, 1976):

There was one full-time warden (a seconded teacher) and one full-time secretary for each regional center (a region including some 1,000 teachers).

Two full-time coordinators (former senior teachers with research background) and two secretaries were responsible for interregional coordination.

The work was organized in the form of teacher group meetings once or twice a month after school (the German school day finishes at 1:30 p.m.).

One of the eight to fifteen members of each working group was released from school for 20% to 25% of his teaching time to prepare, organize, and evaluate the work.

The centers were responsible to the Ministry's planning department and exempt from the inspectorate's control.

In cost-benefit terms, the centers have had a tremendous impact, as some selected evaluation data show (Kuhlen, 1976; Haller, *et al.*, 1976):

Twenty to twenty-five working groups of teachers have been created by each center since 1972 or 1973.

More than 30% of the 4,167 teachers in the four regions have participated in these groups (one-third of them for at least one year, half of them for up to two and one-half years); additional teachers have come to lectures, exhibitions, and other center activities.

The centers were well known in their regions after three years (87% of the teachers knew about their existence and 59% about their quarterly journal, as compared with 32% in the case of traditional inservice education).

Participants were younger than the average and came mainly from the 26- to 40-year age group (a group that will have strong influence on our schools for more than 25 years). They were more in favor of the Hesse innovations in education (but also more skeptical about their prospects), and they were more active in party and union politics and had more inservice education.

Participants were less inclined to use text books for their classes (53% preferred materials collected or developed by themselves). They expected practical help for their daily teaching; 73% said that cooperating in the center's groups had facilitated their schoolwork (they saw traditional inservice courses more as a way to brush up on their subject matter).

Thus, the teacher center appeals to the active and interested teachers who use it effectively. On the other hand, the four centers, in existence for two or three years, have involved 17% to 53% of the teachers in their region who were actively and continuously participating in a working group. The teacher center has been successful, then, in activating more than the 10% to 20% of "innovative teachers" usually mentioned as the clientele of a teacher center.

However, economic difficulties, the recent countertrend toward "representative democracy," and the attempt to bring curriculum innovation in Hesse and elsewhere under the control of the administration (e.g., by establishing the central planning institute) have led to the proposal to reduce full-time staff from six to two teachers and from six to one secretary plus part-time staff for the other responsibilities. It is also proposed to incorporate the four centers as "nuclei for regional inservice education" into the central institute for inservice education. (The four regions include

roughly 8% of all teachers in Hesse.) Moreover, the relative autonomy and cooperative decision-making structure, involving *all* people participating in the work of the centers, has not been institutionalized.

In spite of its success and strong support from the teachers involved, the model has not been able to secure the resources and political base for survival. In particular, the centers have suffered from their strong personal and institutional identification with the new curriculum guidelines which came under severe attack and which the Ministry could not defend because of the changing political situation. Since the Ministry had created the centers, their survival depended on its political success or failure. Thus they also suffered from the conservative backlash in the last state election.

A second experimental program (KORAG) in Hesse, based on a "flying workshop" concept, is in a similar situation. This model was linked even more closely to the implementation of the guidelines but was limited to the comprehensive schools. It worked by releasing teachers as consultants for five subject areas. Its task was to initiate and support groups of teachers working within a school or cooperating between two or three schools. This model attempts to come even closer to the practical situation of the teacher in a specific context, but at the same time it tries to break down the barriers between classrooms within a school and between schools as well (Bonn, 1974; Fischer, 1975).

Implications of the Teacher Center Idea for Educational Practice: The Regional Education Center (REC) in Aurich, Lower Saxony

In 1971, a group of young academics was funded by a foundation to survey the organization of curriculum innovation in different countries and to develop a proposal on how to institutionalize an infrastructure for curriculum innovation in West Germany. A few months later, the Deutscher Bildungsrat formed a committee on Strategies for Curriculum Development which included two persons who were also members of the first group. While there was an intensive exchange of ideas between the two groups, "the thinking of the working party had been more research-oriented and concerned with regional structures, (and) the thinking of some members of the subcommittee was more teacher-oriented and concerned with local structures" (Rudduck, 1976, p. 64). Needless to say, the first group had spent most of its time in the U.S., while members of the other group had just come back from a four-week workshop at

the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) in Britain. Both groups published extensive reports drawing on the situation elsewhere and elaborated models of curriculum organization. The situation, again, was somewhat problematical: academics fighting for teacher autonomy against administration - at a central level. I do not want to deny the importance of taking into account powerful decision-points in an educational system when changing the institutional set-up; however, it must make a difference for the prospects of teacher centers if they have been created by joint efforts of local groups (including, perhaps, the local administration), or if they result from a bargain between academics and administrators, with the teachers being passive receivers of a centrally elaborated idea. (In our case, even the teachers' unions did not participate in this bargain apart from declaring their support for the final recommendations in a press report.)

The main characteristics of the basic REC model were as follows (for a detailed description see Herz, 1973):

Curriculum development, inservice training, and advisory services should be integrated in a separate regional institution.

Sixty to seventy centers should be set up in the Federal Republic, each serving a region with some 5,000 teachers cooperating through a standing committee at the central level.

The centers' projects should be partially exempt from the curriculum guidelines, and decision making should be based on the cooperation of administrators, researchers, and teachers.

The centers should be staffed with five permanent academics and twenty researchers, teachers, and administrators working on a rotating basis (released for six months to two years).

The centers should work through regional projects complemented by less intensive local study circles and separate contacts with individual schools.

In 1972-73 it was estimated that the annual budget of a center would amount to $1 million; however, the economic crisis and the skepticism of the ministries have thwarted this plan. Two model centers, again on an experimental basis, have been established with foundation support and a federal grant. The REC in Aurich opened its doors in autumn 1975. The center is staffed by two academics, six released teach-

ers, and four clerical staff. The center was established in a rural area and charged with the responsibility of supporting the new orientation stage which postpones selection of students for the tripartite secondary system from age 10 to age 12. Thus, the center is smaller than the suggested REC model both in responsibilities and resources. On the other hand, it may look less threatening to teachers, and apparently it is willing to respond pragmatically to the needs of its reference groups. (In terms of consultancy and other services, teachers from *all* school levels are included; 900, or 25%, used the center during the year.) Because of a preparatory planning stage, the center was able to start from the beginning with full load: thirteen teacher groups met seven or eight times during the school year. A total of 120 teachers participated regularly and another 40 came from time to time. This is one-fifth of all teachers working in the orientation stage. Some groups were supported by university consultants, and teachers were granted two days off during the school year.

The groups have already produced curriculum units of different sizes and formats using available frameworks or starter packages. "Utilizing what is available" (Baumert, 1977, p. 20) is a general principle of the center's work. This is done by cooperating with established institutions in the area, such as the museum, the theatre, and standing committees of all orientation-stage teachers in a specific subject area, or by using existing resources and curricula as a basis for original work. Thus, the teachers are not confronted with the full range of problems in developing new curricula. The center tries to avoid reinventing the wheel and becoming an island in the educational landscape.

Two features of the center's work (RPZ Aurich, 1976) are particularly interesting. First, the center attempts to bridge the gaps between school instruction, extracurricular work, and life outside the school. Second, the center aspires to become a "community center" and to escape the fate of "professional isolation" which, in my opinion, is one of the great dangers of some teacher centers in Britain. (In another way this was one of the shortcomings of Regional Labs and RD&D centers in the U.S.)

The companion experiment in Bad Kreuznach (RPZ des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz, 1975; 1976) has developed more along the lines laid down in the original proposal, i.e., *curriculum*-oriented in a narrower sense. Fewer teachers have participated during the first two years (10% to 12%), but the units produced have been used widely. The reports generally show a more *research*-based approach than seems to be the case in

the Aurich center. Since the director of the center is a former high-ranking official of the Ministry in Rhineland-Palatinate, the center has less difficulty getting teachers released from school. Because it is more integrated in the overall administrative structure, however, the center is seen as one agency among others in the state system for *central* curriculum development, while the RPZ Aurich appears to be primarily anchored in the region.

Implications of the Teacher Center Idea for Research: The Regional Implementation Study of EVI CIEL at Münster, North Rhine-Westphalia

EVI CIEL* is a four-year evaluation study of the implementation of five curricula for the 5- to 7-year age group. It is the final project of a $4 million program of the Volkswagen Foundation to promote innovation in elementary and primary education. The project's original charge was to evaluate under average conditions, optimize the curricula, and develop a new methodology appropriate for evaluation in natural contexts. Before I was appointed project director, I succeeded in shifting the main orientation toward preparing an infrastructure for creative curriculum implementation, documenting experiences and developing instruments useful for the day-to-day practice of teachers, and utilizing more holistic and informal methods of collecting and reporting data. The project does not involve a summative evaluation by experts; rather it aspired to a service role, responding to the immediate needs of practitioners as they arise under varying conditions. This support role is mainly implemented through documenting and analyzing the route of the curricula from the authors via mediating agents (such as EVI CIEL itself, publishers, inservice education institutes) to the teachers, children, and their parents. In addition, the project has deliberately assumed responsibility for making experience accumulated in the course of its work accessible to all interested parties.

The focus on the needs of practitioners requires a type of research that is technically simple but rich in representing the details of reality in the classroom. Taking

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*EValuation and Implementation of "Curriculum Institutionalized ELementary Education."

seriously Stake's notion of evaluation as "vicarious experience" (Stake, 1974, p. 15) implies a strong teacher bias in investigating, documenting, analyzing, and reporting on curriculum problems, without losing the critical distance that makes research a valuable counterpart of practice. Nevertheless, evaluation as we understand it in EVI CIEL would be impossible without a considerable shift from the traditionally academic orientation of research toward common-sense, ordinary language, and everyday means of documentation. From this starting point, ten criteria were defined to serve as a perspective for the evaluation team (Brügelmann, 1977):

Unobtrusiveness. The investigation should interfere as little as possible with the ongoing work in the field; the evaluator should refrain from creating problems, in the solution of which he is not willing or able to participate.

Transparency. The work of the evaluator should be accessible to the scrutiny of participants and audiences; it must be possible for them to "evaluate the evaluation."

Impartiality. The evaluator should not take sides but should represent different points of view and respond to different information needs, criteria, and interpretations.

Confidentiality. "People own the facts of their lives": the researcher must respect the integrity of his informants; *they* have to decide what kind of information should be released and when.

Research as a learning experience for all participants. The evaluator should serve participants rather than exploit them; he has an obligation to provide prompt and useful feedback.

Relevance. Evidence should be reported because it promises to be useful to audiences rather than because of its academic merits; different audiences might need different kinds of data, or they might need different formats of presentation.

Transferability. Evidence must be reported in such a way that it can be used to understand other situations; the presentation should support this exploratory use of reports.

Inconclusiveness. Reports should not preempt decisions, they should feed them; therefore, they must contain

enough (excess) information to enable audiences to draw their own conclusions.

Accuracy. If real events are described, the report has to be authentic and fair; if the report is fictive, it still has to be detailed and of high verisimilitude.

Anonymity. Informants should be protected from the curiosity of outsiders.

We wanted to start from the needs and work conditions of our main audience - the teachers. Our first step, therefore, was to involve teachers in comparing the CIEL curricula-on-paper with similar materials already available. This was achieved by conducting three-day curriculum analysis workshops in an inservice training setting and by setting up working groups which met once or twice a month at our institute. As a result of this preliminary evaluation we were made aware of perceptions and problems of teachers.

A number of teachers decided to try out the natural science materials in their classrooms. We offered to protocol the curriculum-in-action in everyday language by tape-slide sequences and similar media and to report back to the teachers within a few days so that they could comment on our interpretations. Once a month all teachers who are implementing this curriculum meet to compare notes and discuss how to proceed with subsequent units. The evaluators try to generalize from the experiences in different settings and to formulate hypotheses. These hypotheses are made available to other teachers through our quarterly workshop report *Evident?* or through presentation in schools, meetings with advisors, and inservice education institutes. A second wave of teachers is now starting to work in a more independent way.

Other groups have extended the initial analysis phase and started to plan their own curricula. One group has decided to work on problems of diagnosing specific reading difficulties and moved away entirely from curriculum planning in the usual sense. Of course, much work has to be done by the evaluation team, and often it is difficult to convince teachers of their own capabilities. On the other hand, cooperation of this kind depends on mutual trust which can develop, we have learned, only in the course of extended, joint work that results in products useful to both sides (Nilshon, 1977).

In emphasizing the research role of teachers, i.e., their capacity to observe and critically analyze what happens in their classrooms, we are playing down the authority of the academic researcher. By offering teachers practical help of a quite different kind, we hope to enhance their competence

to plan and evaluate their own teaching, to become more independent of particular curricula, to better organize the exchange of ideas and experiences with their colleagues. We are not interested in achieving *commitment* to the curricula or passing *authoritative judgments* on them; rather we want to increase the *understanding* of the potential and the shortcomings of the curricula within *different* normative frameworks or under *specific* implementation conditions. Curricular evaluation can be used, in our opinion, as a medium for promoting a particular understanding of the teacher's role and for supporting the process of professional self-development. The value of the project's products will depend on their potential to support this process at places where the team cannot be present or at a time when it has dissolved. We therefore cannot publish research reports of the traditional type. Rather, we concentrate on diagnostic aids to be used by teachers; hypotheses about the impact of the curricula under certain conditions grounded in practical experience; reports on the process and problems of cooperative work; establishment of a network of personal and institutional contacts that can survive without the team's support. We seek these and other quite simple, but nevertheless important, means for stabilizing the experimental work within the region and expanding its impact to other areas. An evaluator, relying on his academic experience and qualifications, soon experiences his impotence in facing the complexity of these demands and the ambiguity of a role that is defined differently by different reference groups. Career prospects, in particular, depend on one's status in the academic world, while high academic status (or the style of work recognized as "research") seems to create barriers to cooperation with practitioners.

What to Avoid in Establishing Teacher Centers: A Cautionary Summary

In the preceding sketches we have seen that the potential of the teacher center idea can be realized differently in different contexts and that the institutional form has to fit the particular circumstances. Certain problems have also become apparent.

Teacher centers are a complex social innovation which has to be embedded in the existing structure without being perverted. Frame-conditions must be changed, but they cannot be imposed from above according to a prespecified schedule. The establishment and *political* survival of teacher centers de-

pends on continuing support from the administration, particularly the local administration. Centers' success with *teachers,* on the other hand, stems from their being outside the control hierarchy. In general, teacher centers cannot survive when their expectations and policy are dependent on outside agencies. They live on the initiative and involvement of their local clientele although they need a broader reference group than the teachers alone. Access to research and central development projects, to resources and competence in other institutions of the region, and open communication with the local community are critical.

Second, teacher centers should not be overburdened with tasks and expectations which other agencies have left unfulfilled. They are not a panacea for the problems of educational improvement left by the many ambitious projects mounted during the reform euphoria of the 1960s and early 1970s. They have a special and crucial task in supporting teachers and facilitating their everyday work and thus in complementing activities of other agencies rather than replacing them. Teacher centers are conservative institutions. They have to face the constraints of practical application and respond to the pressures of immediate action. They focus on consolidating good practice, fostering the exchange of ideas and experience available in the schools themselves, creating self-confidence, and rendering new ideas manageable in practice.

Third, teacher centers need time to develop an identity; they cannot live on an experimental basis. They must remain flexible and even imperfect; they are workshops and not mini-universities. Important as resources and staff are, the teacher center should remain an instrument for its clientele, capitalizing on their competence rather than creating a new center-periphery problem at the local level. Thus, the teacher center has to be small, and it has to find its niche within the local structure, aware of the danger that it may become an instrument of other powerful agencies. There is no point trying to save teachers from fighting for their own center. As long as they identify with it, they will watch out for its development. Moreover, it may be useful to have quite different groups participating in the decision making of the center so that cooperation with other agencies can be somewhat formalized and no one can dominate the center's policy. *Independence without isolation:* that seems to be the crucial balance to be achieved in the network of interests and influences that can foster or block the teacher center's development. No blueprint is available for securing this balance; however, experiences of the kind reported here may help to anticipate some of the many problems that will be encountered.

(A more detailed account can be found in my case study of a British center [Brügelmann, 1976].)

Finally, it is not the number of centers established within a certain period that counts. It is the change of attitudes and of role expectations, of forms of cooperation and working strategies, of decision making, and of resources allocated to school-based work. Opportunities for grass-roots participation, for experimental decision making and nonhierarchical cooperation in education can be provided in quite different forms and should be institutionalized wherever possible. Only in this context can the teacher center as an institution flourish.

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CHAPTER 3

THE BRITISH TEACHER CENTER

ROBERT E. THORNBURY

Historical Perspective

Teacher centers in England and Wales arose from complex origins in the early 1960s. The interaction of public opinion, curriculum reforms, and politics produced a set of conditions favorable to the emergence of centers.

Political decisions, like Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, brought concern over the quality of language teaching and created a need for instruction in the metric system. National anxieties were publicly expressed about possible deterioration in reading and other basic skills, the threat of technological competition from other nations, the poor behavior of the economy, and the failure to satisfy the expectations of parents and employers.

Large increases in expenditures for education went unquestioned throughout the 1960s and provided more than adequate funding for teacher centers. A "teacher quota" designed to discourage cities from hiring too many teachers was informally relaxed.

The emergence of large comprehensive and middle schools and the expansion of nursery education prompted curriculum experimentation throughout the system. New curriculum demanded by the raising of the school-leaving age in 1973 led to a review of the entire secondary school curriculum. Some local education authorities (LEAs) formed consortia and set up curriculum development groups or teacher centers for that purpose. A *covert* curriculum counterreformation also proceeded unnoticed. Teacher centers, responding to the demands of teachers, also supported this move.

Local secondary school examinations for 16 year olds which

were prepared, assessed, and administered by teachers, stimulated professional confidence. Politicians advocated "unstreaming" the primary school. By 1973, mixed ability teaching could be found in 40% of the secondary schools. These moves reinforced the trend toward the integrated day at the primary level and integrated studies in secondary schools. New "hybrid" subjects such as social studies stimulated curriculum development at teacher centers.

The influential Plowden report praised the British informal classroom movement and its associated curriculum innovation. The ideology of open education demanded that teachers chose their own curriculum. For this reason, and because primary schools were small, primary teachers formed the largest and most active network of membership at teacher centers. Many participated in Nuffield mathematics workshops, creative art, and other "informal" classroom programs.

Throughout the 1960s, British urban schools experienced crises in staffing, curriculum, and classroom discipline. Urban curriculum development was promoted in schemes of compensatory education arising from recommendations of the Plowden report and influenced by the American example. Generous additional funds allowed urban schools to experiment with curriculum innovation, especially in educational technology and audiovisual aids. There was a major expansion of paraprofessional staffing in all schools. These trends reinforced the growth of teacher centers. Many young teachers felt their college courses had insufficiently prepared them for urban teaching. Colleges of education were criticized for neglecting the teaching of reading and the realities of the multicultural, urban classroom. Unfortunately, the colleges had been under severe pressure to expand their admissions and to design academic courses that would help secure graduate status for professional preparation. The waves of young teachers arriving annually at urban schools needed professional "induction" support. High staff turnover and the exodus of teachers from the cities meant that a system of 20,000 teachers could expect to lose up to 2,500 each year. Teacher centers responded with crash programs.

Despite a public rhetoric favorable to curriculum innovation, the urban classroom crisis often prevented substantive change. "Cargo-cult," the mindless production of teaching materials, was a common response to professional panic. Educational realism and a siege psychology induced a counter-reformation in curriculum and prompted teachers to visit centers to retrieve lost or unfashionable skills. There was a resurgence of phonics, diagnostic techniques in mathematics, and demands for curriculum guidelines. Experienced and

young teachers, responding to the "role diffusion" or "extended professionalization" identified by educational sociologists, sought to compensate by acquiring "hard" skills at short courses in teacher centers.

Many urban centers offered teachers pastoral support, professional tutors, or self-help groups. Recreational facilities and housing were often provided. These fringe benefits were used to attract poorly paid teachers into the urban classroom by employers unable to offer higher salaries. Thus a curricular ecumenicism developed in teacher centers, a neutral catholicity of offering and practice. This, together with the friendly atmosphere of a small institution, appealed to progressive and traditional teachers alike.

In most LEAs, spare classrooms were used to create teacher centers which meant that centers were rarely located conveniently for traveling teachers. If travel across the city was time-consuming, it was equally inconvenient for rural teachers to travel miles across the countryside after school. By 1972, rural authorities, with their smaller education budgets, were spending only half what urban education authorities did.

Many teacher centers also functioned as resource centers. Learning resources were proliferating; the electric, plastic classroom sprang up everywhere. Teachers who bought audio-visual aids and commercial materials needed a place where they could learn how to use them. The resource function often determined the location and number of teacher centers. The center could be an annex of the resource center or the same institution. Sometimes *specialist* resources were assembled for primary teachers in reading or in multicultural curricula or for secondary specialist teachers; however, there were relatively few specialist centers except in the large urban areas.

Some teacher centers, curriculum development groups, or resource centers provided duplicating services and acted as small publishing firms, producing environmental studies and other local curricular materials. Occasionally, these operations were carried out on a large scale: London's Media Resource Center resembled a conventional publishing house.

A national teacher center, the Schools Council, was established in 1965 and soon had funded a hundred or so curriculum projects. Financed jointly by LEAs and the government, the Schools Council saw local centers as mechanisms for disseminating its products, the retail outlet for the wholesale producer. Because the Schools Council was largely controlled by the teacher unions and wary of being seen as a central conspiracy to take over curricular change or to direct teach-

ers, it deliberately avoided a "hard sell" approach. Moreover, its official charge excluded inservice activity. The role of the entrepreneurial publisher changed markedly. Local authorities, central curriculum agencies, and publishers increasingly collaborated. The publishers lost some editorial control but gained a guaranteed market.

Local government reorganization between 1964 and 1974 reduced the total number of LEAs to 105, resulting in a contraction of the number of teacher centers but an increase in their influence. The renamed LEAs used the centers to announce their identity. Some centers were restructured, merged, or closed because of cuts in the education budget. Unlike the U.S. or Australian experience, where federal or private funding was important, the British teacher centers from their early history were exclusively controlled by the LEAs.

The professional democracy and neutrality of centers were much stressed. Teachers, social workers, inspectors, and others could rub shoulders without their epaulettes being observed, or so theory ran. Teacher centers did not fit into any firmly perceived hierarchical structure. Wardens (directors) were given vague job definitions, and their creative freedom was limited to encouraging teachers to attend on a voluntary basis after school. Since no one in the unions, inspectorate, or administration saw centers as potentially powerful, the much-vaunted neutrality sometimes represented benign neglect. Still, centers were increasingly successful. Their power did grow, even without a captive audience and despite the initial shoestring budgets. Characteristically, by 1977 the urban teacher center in London had a staff of ten - professional, secretarial, technical, and catering. Teacher centers had arrived.

Future Trends

What are the remaining or new problems, or exciting future developments in British teacher centers?

After 1974, the economic recession created demands for cuts in public expenditure, especially in education, the largest-spending department. Simultaneously, a major salary award to British teachers brought sudden, overnight staffing stability. Four hundred teachers recently applied for one rural teaching post, and there are 20,000 unemployed teachers. Improved morale, salaries, and working conditions have given teachers the security to settle down to their jobs more seriously and creatively. The scene is ripe for curriculum innovation.

The emphasis on induction support for young teachers has diminished. Teacher centers no longer need to finance weekend courses at seaside hotels to attract young teachers into city schools. Because of the decline in urban school rolls, the problem now is to persuade teachers to resign. There is an aging teaching force. The generational gap in urban schools between teachers in their thirties and those in their fifties approaching retirement presents a problem which teacher centers can help to mend.

Teachers, and to a lesser extent, teacher centers, are vulnerable to a new mood of public and political hysteria over educational accountability. Encouraged by Her Majesty's Inspectors and the Department of Education and Science, pressured by parents and electorate, the central government has begun to jog the elbow of local education authorities. Recently "The Great Debate," a series of public educational conferences organized by the government, was held throughout the country. H.M. Inspectors have flexed their muscles over modern language teaching and mixed-ability grouping. An Assessment of Performance Unit has been set up, and the inspectorate is to resume formal inspections in thousands of schools. A Departmental discussion document recently indicated that each LEA will be asked to submit its curriculum. Public calls for increased accountability and intervention in schools have been highlighted by the "Tyndale School Enquiry," the research report of Neville Bennett on informal classrooms (1976).

The Education Minister has hinted that the annual central grant given to LEAs may be monitored to see how the money for inservice training is being spent. At present, it is buried in the grand total. This is likely to expand the activities and strengthen the role of teacher centers; however, a trend toward centralization--by government or LEA--may also pose a threat. The game is firmly in the court of the local education authorities who control the centers. Central government, Whitehall mandarins, and HMIs will stay in the background, but they will not hesitate to intervene if LEAs fail to strengthen their control over teachers, educational standards, and curriculum. That impulse will be strengthened soon by a report from the Taylor Committee which recommends an enlarged role for parents and school managing bodies which are recruited by LEAs.

Other consequences follow. If central government checks up on inservice money, more will be spent for releasing teachers to undertake inservice activity and the voluntaristic tradition of teacher centers will decline. Teachers will find that the content of center courses is dictated by their LEA employers, and an appropriate balance between professional judgment

and educational accountability will have to be negotiated. Teams of advisers and inspectors in the reorganized LEAs now have a captive force of teachers anxious to keep their jobs, and they have already begun to use their power to confer promotion and approval. Because they are under Departmental scrutiny, local advisers and inspectors will increase their pressure on teachers to follow the "official" curriculum. This represents a dramatic change, especially in urban schools where, only two years ago, inspectors had to plead with teachers to stay in the classroom.

No one should complain because staffing stability has arrived. Nor should the expansion of release time for inservice work or more sustained inservice courses and curriculum development be resented: there will be less emphasis on crash courses and cargo-cult and much more serious interest in curriculum innovation. There is real possibility that something will happen in the classroom to which the teacher returns. At last an opportunity exists for the professional, long-term, and sophisticated inservice education necessary to support the "informal" classroom.

A better supply of teachers, which permits more release time at teacher centers, is likely to lead to more creditation. There is increased interest in holiday courses. Our experience with the Open University Reading Development diploma suggests that teachers want a combination of classroom realism and academic credit. Now an all-graduate teaching profession will emphasize professional qualifications, if only for promotion purposes. Still, teacher center staffs will encounter more teachers who see no promotion or reward for changing their viewpoint and who are uninterested in recycling or curriculum development. While the likelihood of support in classroom implementation is a bonus, it can also be threatening. Advisers and inspectors who have released the teacher for a course or invited her to attend will expect to see classroom results. Indeed, government pressure on each LEA to produce a common-core curriculum may result in a situation where teachers, released for curriculum development in teacher centers, will work on producing officially sponsored curriculum and have less professional freedom than before.

There are danger signs in the British setting. An officially approved counterreformation may swing too far in the wrong direction and destroy the best of the informal education tradition. It would be ironic if this happened precisely when staffing stability has come to the schools. Many have argued against excessive curriculum innovation during a period of urban school crisis. Those who believe it is now possible to resume the trend toward effective informal classrooms, which

requires a more sophisticated and exacting kind of teaching, regret the backlash.

Role of Teacher Unions

Teachers are under attack. Everyone conveniently forgets that many poorly qualified and unwilling recruits entered teaching in the 1960s during the urban classroom crisis. The unions, indifferent or neutral about the early growth of teacher centers, have sharply altered their stance. Now they see teacher centers as vital professional agencies. Teachers can defend themselves from attacks on their performance by raising professional standards through inservice courses. Every teacher released for inservice education will benefit teacher employment in general. In the climate of a Tyndale scandal, teachers must defend themselves and the unions must strenuously support the release of teachers to centers.

Teacher unions are far less active on another crucial issue. Increasing emphasis on cost effectiveness makes it difficult to argue that *teachers* should be paid to lead inservice courses or workshops. Cost-cutting pressures to use advisers or inspectors could mean that teachers will be progressively disenfranchised from leadership of their own professional inservice education.

Role of Colleges

The role of the college of education has also changed. Teacher graduates now train in liberal arts colleges not in monotechnic teacher-training institutions. With changing demographic trends and staffing stability, the demand for new teachers has come to an abrupt end. With drastic cuts in placements for practice teachers, colleges have attempted to expand their role in inservice education. But these inservice ambitions have been frustrated. Proposals advanced in the James report (1972) for a massive induction program and sabbaticals for experienced teachers ran short of money. Education authorities have been cutting back on the release of teachers for one-year courses at colleges. In effect, this has meant that more money and teachers have gone to teacher centers which, after all, are controlled by the LEAs. LEAs which run their own colleges of education are considering deploying lecturers to work in the schools on insevice support. Working with such lecturers in schools is an exciting point of development for teacher centers.

But the neutrality of the teacher center is certainly threatened. Teacher centers, fully funded and professionally controlled by LEAs, already lack the voluntaristic tradition and independent funding which have characterized the U.S. experience. Nor is there dual provision, from the federal government and the state, which would allow them to divide and rule. If teacher centers had been located in colleges, academic freedom might have defended them from the worst excesses of popular dementia over educational accountability. Some of us wish that teacher center staffs had built better bridges with the colleges and universities.

Emerging Structures and Roles of Centers

Where migration from the cities has caused a decline in school rolls and empty classrooms, future teacher centers will be created from spare accommodation in existing schools. Some larger, perhaps specialist centers will be closed and their staffs redeployed. The emphasis will be on small, accessible, multipurpose units. In the long run, it may be wise to think about larger, centrally located teacher centers much like the staff colleges at Liverpool or Manchester where the warden earns the equivalent of a top principal's salary and a professional team of several dozen people is employed. Current LEA budgets are not encouraging this course of action.

Rather a growing emphasis is placed on *school-based* staff development. The urban school has entered a period of consolidation after years of educational neglect and urban stress. While it is natural to argue for a school-based teacher center and for school-based inservice and curriculum development programs, professional insularity is a possible risk. We already have a cottage industry where neighboring schools produce identical artifacts. The teacher center has an important job to do: to be an information and resource agency that links networks of primary and secondary teachers from different schools. Indeed, the networking principle is crucial. Teacher center leaders are like spymasters: they know each reference group (nursery teachers, modern language specialists, principals), while the groups do not know one another.

Teacher and curriculum development centers in Britain have invariably functioned as resource centers. The continuing growth of educational technology and new multimedia learning resources means that this function will continue to be important. Indeed, teacher centers often sponsor a purchasing consortium which obtains learning resources at special discount for member schools.

Expanded Participation in Centers

British centers have found an important role in supporting paraprofessionals who work in the schools. Will centers in the future welcome others besides the teachers and paraprofessionals or will the teacher center in Britain remain a monotechnic dinosaur? Despite much lip-service to the idea, initial and inservice teacher education are still not integrated. Students do not use teacher centers or meet experienced colleagues there. Many of us would like to see more social workers and allied professionals working with teachers through the centers. But most of all we would like to see the role of the teacher center expanded to include media resource agency, exhibition place, education shop, *and* community education forum for parents and public. If the Taylor Committee shortly recommends, as seems likely, that parental representation on governing bodies should be expanded, there will be a major new task. At a time of economic stringency and public unease over education, the expertise, materials, and equipment in teacher centers represent a community education resource that should be more widely accessible. Teacher centers would also benefit by having representation of parents and other community people on their managing bodies.

British teachers have been reluctant to take up the recommendation of the wartime McNair report to establish education centers as local public forums for educational discussion. Because centers have immense professional importance to teachers, teachers do not want others to be involved. An overemphasis on professionalism, however, could be counterproductive. When teachers are under fire, there needs to be a public forum for informed discussion rather than uninformed controversy. Moreover, the philosophy of informal education logically demands that a teacher center should involve parents as well as teachers.

Role of the Teacher Center Warden

The teacher center leader has undergone increased professionalization. At present, most wardens are paid on a teacher's or head teacher's scale. The British teacher unions have argued for a special scale which would absorb wardens into the national negotiating structure. Salary levels would be assessed on the geography of the area covered or the number of teachers served.

Teacher center leaders have developed local, regional, and national organizations. At first, they met regionally in

groups with strange names like WISE (Wardens in the South East). Three years ago, a national organization, the National Conference of Teachers Centre Leaders, was set up. Teacher unionists then made a sharp demarcation between the professional and the union role of the warden. Sharp debate arose over whether teacher center leaders should join regional groups which would then federate to a national organization, or whether individual membership in the national organization should be allowed. A dual system was agreed on. Since then, the national organization has achieved a place at the table when inservice policies are being reviewed.

Some wardens have found their tasks circumscribed by advisers or inspectors. The multipurpose warden has sometimes been told, "Leave my subject alone, I'll see to that." "You mind the tea urn and make sure the overhead projector is working." Wardens sometimes complain that education cuts have eroded their role as talent spotter, impresario, or employer of teachers. Many teacher center leaders have joined the educational hierarchy and are seen by some as pawns of the system. The LEAs, politically sensitive to the new emphasis on accountability, look to the teacher centers for improvements in classroom performance. Again, some wardens have become superior bureaucrats, administrators, or caterers and have abandoned their identification with working teachers. Generally wardens are an aging population of considerable occupational stability. Opportunities for promotion have dried up. Formerly, wardens became heads of large schools or inspectors. Few posts are available today in colleges of education and those that are have precarious tenure. Yet wardens themselves, when consulted in a survey in 1972, advised that the job should not be considered a permanent career.

Some of the exhilaration has gone. The charismatic phase curdles into bureaucracy. With their intelligence networks assembled, their curriculum innovation falling into routine, teacher center wardens can become dull people. The elation of originating something new, like creating a district calendar of school events or getting a swimming pool open for teachers in the evening, has become an administrative chore. Teachers complain that the swimming pool is not open or the calendar has not been published while the warden feels like the sorcerer's apprentice, having unleashed such an immense volume of work on himself. Nevertheless, as the new professionals, wardens have accumulated power, status, and influence, together with very good salaries in the urban centers. Occasionally, the primary principal approaches the warden and asks him when he is likely to be vacating his post. That never used to happen.

Although inspectors in the subject areas may elbow him sideways while they compete with each other for influence, the warden will continue to take an overall view of the curriculum, the school, and the classroom. He will still mediate, coordinate, and act as impresario while carefully refereeing competing pressure groups. For teacher center leaders cannot just respond to demand or maintain a passive neutrality: they must innovate if they are to fulfill their special role. You can be optimistic about the future British teacher center leader.

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III

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER 4

SKETCHES OF SIX U. S. TEACHER CENTERS

The sketches which make up this chapter illustrate the diversity of organizations associated with the teacher center movement in the United States. They provide a set of referents for comparison with the European experience and for identification and analysis of policy issues.

The sketches were written by persons in leadership positions. Each director or administrator was asked to describe his center's origins, to characterize its unique features, and to discuss the major problems the center currently faces.

The six centers were chosen because they typify a range of alternatives with respect to affiliation, basis of participation, decision-making structure, source of funding, program scope and focus, staffing, and clientele. Collectively they illustrate variations on the center theme and enable the reader to visualize the trade-offs entailed by different combinations of form and function.

Differences in the style in which the sketches were written have been preserved because they convey something of the flavor of the center and the personality of the leadership. The more detailed and personal accounts come from centers whose essence is a function of the place, people, and purposes which bring them together. The more general descriptions come from centers which deploy large numbers of specialists in a broad "outreach" program or which serve as a neutral linkage mechanism for state, university, and school collaboration. The sense of vitality and personal commitment is strongest where centers evolved from grassroots beginnings. In most cases, the authors helped initiate the center, know

its clientele, and are intimately familiar with its day-to-day work. Centers that were mandated by legislative action or which serve a district-wide staff development program necessarily have a more diffuse focus. These descriptions do not convey the same immediacy or local color, but they offer a structural overview.

While all the centers share a commitment to improve the education of children by supporting the professional growth of teachers, even definitions of the teacher clientele vary. Some centers primarily serve practicing teachers at the elementary level; others include preservice students, administrators, and parents in their charge; still others define teachers as "all professional educators wherever they may be found."

With the exception of The Learning Exchange which is an independent organization supported by contributions from the business community, all the centers are affiliated to a greater or lesser extent with other institutions. The Oakland Schools Professional Development Center is a recent addition to the regular and extensive staff development services organized at the intermediate district level to meet the needs of local schools. The Teachers' Active Learning Center/Teacher Shelter, which began as an independent alternative to conventional inservice programs, now enjoys some support from the school district in which it is based. This affiliation incurs a degree of institutional pressure as the center tries to preserve its voluntaristic and developmental way of working while responding to district priorities. The Syracuse and Minneapolis centers involve a university-school partnership. While San José plays down the "special" problems that might occur when two discrete institutions with overlapping responsibilities help each other, Hayen notes some of the difficulties of collaborative arrangements. Still he asserts that teacher education at any level needs the close association of universities and schools. Teacher centers in Texas have a more complex collaborative structure prescribed by legislative mandate and coordinated by the state education department.

Teacher centers in Texas do not necessarily have a permanent site. The term seems to refer to a roving delivery system that brings various services to different local institutions. The "delivery system" metaphor also fits the staff development activities of the Oakland Schools intermediate district which has a staff of one hundred ten specialists and a sophisticated computer technology. It is somewhat misleading to compare a comprehensive inservice program funded by the district with a more modest and ad hoc teacher center. The latter never saw itself to be a replacement for district in-

service but rather an option or alternative that took as a starting point the self-defined needs of individual teachers.

But teachers work in institutions which serve the needs of the community, so the work of the teacher center must be related to school improvement. The way a teacher center responds to the needs of teachers is related to the way teachers (and schools) respond to the needs of students. Some of the sketches elaborate the center's way of working with teachers but say little about how teachers participate in policy decisions: generally the center is small enough to permit ongoing diagnosis of needs. Other sketches describe a governance structure but say little about the center's instructional style: generally the scale of these centers requires more formal procedures for policymaking and assessment of needs.

These differences in emphasis are understandable given differences among centers in origin and orientation and, especially, in relationship to the system. Unless that relationship expresses confidence in the teacher as a professional, capable of making decisions about curriculum and teaching and about his own professional education, the essence of the teacher center idea will be lost. The reader can judge whether the centers represented here rest on a new view of the teachers' role and how well they have struck a balance between individual and institutional needs, programmatic autonomy and continuing support, and professional self-monitoring and public accountability. (S.F.)

THE WEST GENESEE/ SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY TEACHING CENTER

Christine San José

What Is Special About Our Center?

Perhaps most special about our Center is that we're not particularly special. We are a group of people from two previously discrete institutions who are helping each other with our overlapping jobs. We have no outstanding leader, no particular philosophy to unite and fire us, no outside mandate reinforcing our will to survive, no state or federal monies to display. So we might be a useful case study for other "unspecial" people hoping to establish some kind of teacher center.

In 1973, the Division of Teacher Education of Syracuse

University School of Education and the West Genesee School District decided to collaborate in the training of teachers. In the preservice area, the goal was to establish a model competency-based training program. In the inservice area, the aim was to improve instruction in the schools. Theory and practice would unite through university/school collaboration.

Operationally, school teachers work with university faculty to draw up the competencies a preservice student must demonstrate for recommendation as a beginning teacher. The schools are thus involved from the outset in the goals and substance of preservice training. They are also in a position to diagnose and evaluate student progress during the extensive field practice. This joint participation constitutes a learning experience for student teachers as well as for the inservice teachers involved. In the process, teachers become increasingly aware of their individual weaknesses and strengths. At a broader level, schools where students are concentrated are stimulated to consider what school-wide efforts might increase their effectiveness. Similarly, the district begins to assess the growth and accomplishments of the entire professional staff.

In return for their generous help with preservice training, the University assists the schools along various paths to improvement - not just those paths directly related to the student teacher program, but also those which stem from the needs of particular teachers, particular schools, and the district. Tuition vouchers, traditionally awarded to individual cooperating teachers, are pooled so that schools may use them to attend university courses and to pay for university credit in a flexible and varied staff development program of their own fashioning. From the tuition vouchers, the University returns to the Center a generous percentage of real money which finances the staff development program. The arrangement is symbiotic. The more the schools help with preservice training, the more they themselves learn; the more the University helps with staff development, the richer the environment for their own students.

All this activity - supervision of students and teachers, organization of staff development programs in the schools, provision of instruction and leadership - is coordinated by a Center staff consisting of a coordinator, an assistant coordinator, and a secretary. The salaries of these three people are paid half by the school district, half by the University. That is the full extent of the financial commitment of either body. The money from tuition vouchers which finances those staff development activities not handled by in-house Center talent might constitute an additional liability for

the University. In fact, Center courses, which form part of the staff development program, are now attracting out-of-Center, money-paying registrants, and the extra real-money revenue thus generated for the University compensates for the real-money outlay. For the equivalent cost of an assistant professor and a half-time secretary, the University gains access to professionally lively, welcoming schools which supervise the field work of preservice students (123 quarter placements per year), and provide opportunities for many more students to observe and act as teacher aides. For the equivalent cost of a teacher and half-time secretary, the schools enjoy a wide-ranging, responsive, staff development program, with help and stimulus from involvement in preservice training.

The person who had a vision of collaboration and dreamed up this ingenious way of getting so much for so little money is indeed rather special. This is Jim Collins, until now head of teacher training at Syracuse. The rest of us are school and university teachers and school and university administrators such as you would find anywhere: overworked and underpaid, each quite limited in expertise, none knowing too clearly what we don't know, all more comfortable with what we do know. Together we search for a balance between flexibility and maintenance of standards, between doing what we want to do individually and fulfilling what we perceive as our societal charge. In short, we typify institutional education, reportedly impervious to change but actually involved in qualitative improvements.

What Do We Do Best?

Each year, the Center reports a varied list of accomplishments:

- Developments in the preservice program jointly planned and effected
- Thus-and-such students satisfactorily completing the various sequences
- A wide array of staff development activities for both teachers and administrators: courses and workshops (led by school people, university people, and outside consultants); visits from provocative educational leaders; participation in conferences; preparation of materials; use of the resource room
- Evidence of changes in classroom activities and instructional programs in the schools

Research conducted by classroom teachers, university faculty, and graduate students
Refinement of Center policy and operational procedures

A lengthy opinionnaire reveals that participants are generally satisfied with the content and form of Center operations. Encouraged by what they see, two more school districts have formed centers with the University, thus expanding the pool of resources.

Our real accomplishment, without which the rest is busywork, is harder to document but nevertheless quite real. The Center has sparked among participants a sense of professional pride and a strong realization that each individual has something to contribute. Of course, not every preservice student who passes through the Center, not every teacher and or administrator in the district and the University is inspired. But generous and unsolicited feedback tells us that a shared feeling of personal commitment keeps our courses and workshops filled, while other extended campus enrollments are falling, encourages our university faculty to tackle research in the untamed field, and preserves and even increases our budget despite stringent institutional cuts. If the Center did not respond to needs and concretely deliver on its promises, the spirit would have died. Without a personal commitment to the teaching profession and a sense of individual worth, the Center would be merely a lifeless, static institutional structure. As mandated centers and inducements for their establishment become increasingly common, it is vital to remember that the technology of improved instruction and the mechanics of delivery must be animated by personal and professional commitment.

The growth of this commitment in our Center is intimately connected, I think, with collaboration and the resultant diversity of resources and points of view. Among the varied aspects of our Center program, many individuals can find something that fits their particular needs and interests. The Center does not try to move people in a prescribed and uniform direction. The array of models and choices and the capacity to generate new alternatives enables the Center to help people find out where they are, where they want to go, and how they can help themselves to get there.

Challenges and Problems

One of our biggest tasks concerns the integration of theory and practice in preservice training. Students perceive much

of their campus work as irrelevant. Above all, they want to learn how to survive in schools. On the other hand, university faculty are disturbed at the prospect of sending out beginning teachers who lack a theoretical foundation which will support continuing growth throughout their professional lives. This is particularly true in the "basics." For example, student teachers often see math as a matter of helping children through textbooks and standardized tests while the university math specialist wants children to understand the underlying operations, delight in mathematical patterns, or at the least cope with the measuring and accounts of everyday life. To make headway here, we do not need university committees, but working parties of students, university faculty, and teachers who will act on what they believe and discover and make recommendations. We need professors eager to tackle the problem through classroom-based research and the development and trial of new materials. Research and publications could grow out of this new work. We also need teachers who are willing to try out new ideas in their classrooms and involve student teachers in classroom experimentation. This will require adjustments in teaching load and resources to package new materials for university students and school youngsters. Most important, it requires time to share and evaluate these experiments. We do not have to start on a large scale. One professor, a small group of teachers, and a handful of student teachers could make a difference. A team of two faculty members, with a critical mass in one school, would be ideal. Bringing together the initial nuclear group may not be too difficult. Keeping them together in the face of competing demands on their energies may be harder. Spreading the word as well as the deed raises new difficulties.

The second major task involves building a long-term staff development plan for a district, starting with thoroughgoing self-assessment and wide-ranging discussion of goals. Nothing less will suffice. There is a growing realization that a thoughtful and systematic effort is required. Undoubtedly, the Center has played a part in demonstrating the need. Eventually, we may be able to meet it. Again, this involves working together with the people who are directly responsible in order to develop a coherent and comprehensive plan of action. It seems entirely possible that the work of a preservice group and a staff development group would overlap or coincide. Alternatively, a preservice group might begin in a particular area while a staff development group examines the overall picture before jumping in.

In a real sense, these are challenging tasks rather than problems. Of course, they are replete with many of the same

problems which have traditionally characterized preservice training and staff development. It remains to be seen whether "unspecial" people will be able to overcome them by working together.

TEACHERS' ACTIVE LEARNING CENTER/ TEACHER SHELTER, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Amity P. Buxton

The Teachers' Active Learning Center (TALC), now called the Teacher Shelter, is a center for and by teachers in the San Francisco Bay area. "Teachers" refers to personnel directly involved in the teaching and learning of students. This includes not only certificated teachers, but also principals, parents, papaprofessionals, secretaries, custodians, student teachers, professors, and community people. Formerly located in San Francisco, independent of school district or university, TALC/Teacher Shelter is now housed in the Oakland Public Schools. It continues to serve teachers from public and nonpublic schools in other communities, although most participants are Oakland teachers.

From its beginning in 1969, TALC/Teacher Shelter was expressly designed as an alternative to traditional inservice activities such as mandated district programs, resource centers, and university courses. TALC's alternative features included voluntary participation, teacher-designed program, teacher-determined policy, multilevel activities, and an active learning process. Three basic principles guided the transformation of a university-designed off-campus teacher education center into the TALC. First, activities would focus on the teacher as learner; second, the approach would be developmental; third, the curriculum would be interdisciplinary. The process was initiated by a classroom teacher and several university faculty members (recent classroom teachers) who were part of the staff of a federally funded TTT teacher education project at San Francisco State University.

TALC operated in an off-campus location until mid-1971 when the project funding ceased. Separate funding was secured, and the Center was relocated in independent space. Meanwhile, in 1973, a group of teachers in the Oakland Public Schools volunteered to plan "a teacher center" in response to a district-wide invitation by three coordinators of staff and cur-

riculum development. They developed a concept for their center which stressed the importance of the teacher as decision maker and the voluntary nature of participation. In 1974, when the TALC staff indicated interest in moving to a school district, the Oakland teacher group hired the two staff members to move their resources (and partial funding) across the Bay to a space designed by the group and constructed by the district. The new space was called "The Teacher Shelter." Now in 1977, the original Teacher Advisory Group sees the Center as "the guardian of the creative edge of the district."

Distinctive Characteristics

Teacher-centered concept. From our observation and study of British teacher centers in the late sixties, we adapted the British concept of a teacher center as a place where teachers are free to become learners and curriculum makers. Our materials, physical space, concept of curriculum, staffing, and organization of participants all reflect our continuing contacts with British educators. Through this network and communications with similar teacher centers in the United States, we have expanded our concept of a center to include opportunities for teachers to become researchers.

Developmental Structure. The work of the Center proceeds from a developmental view of learning. All our resources are organized flexibly so that they can be adapted to the entry level and mode of learning of each participant. We try to connect "doing" with "understanding" and to stimulate participants to invent and create. Teachers are encouraged to move from the exploration and manipulation of concrete materials to the design of curriculum and the formulation of research questions about their classroom work. All aspects of the Center, from displays to staff, help teachers extend their perceptions and organize their experiences into a more complex view of education.

The ongoing nature of the program supports the developmental structure. Teachers participate in a variety of patterns of time, place, and content, depending on individual needs. Our follow-up support in the classroom and samples of student work in the Center constantly reinforce a cumulative integration of theory and practice. The continuity and developmental perspective help to explain the growth of the Center itself from an initial focus on curriculum materials and activities to a concern for curriculum development, reflection, and research.

Interdisciplinary curriculum. Interdisciplinary curriculum content provides the substantive framework for the Center program. All activities are related to subject matter in at least two content areas. When teachers build cardboard "organizers" for their classroom, we discuss the relationship between functional classroom management systems and effective student investigation of content. When teachers make skill games, we examine with them the underlying concepts that the games reinforce or we help them plan a "next step" beyond skill mastery. We are able to make these connections among subject areas and activities because we view curriculum as a "web" of interconnecting disciplines which can be integrated through a theme, topic, or concept. Our display on "Native California Plants" involves mathematics, science, language, and the arts. The "web" organization of interdisciplinary curriculum makes it possible for a Center participant to begin in any one curriculum domain and find points of contact with other areas.

Flexibility. Our distinctive characteristic in regard to staffing and funding is flexibility. Staffing has ranged from seven (five full-time and two part-time) to two (one full-time and one part-time). We have had two full-time staff, two assistants, and a part-time secretary for the past year. From the start, the Center has been funded from multiple sources: federal, state, and district funds; community and national foundations; business donations; and individual contributions. Since 1974, district support of staffing has increased from less than half to full support for two full-time staff members. Total annual funding has ranged from $25,000 to $140,000. Since 1973, businesses in the Bay area have donated annually over $30,000 worth of surplus materials for teachers to use in making classroom learning materials.

Effective Practices

Our most effective work is done on a one-to-one basis or in small groups within a nonjudgmental atmosphere over an extended period of time. Our approach is open-ended, and we provide various services according to the developmental needs of the individual teachers. We try to respond to "the whole teacher" - to psychological, affective, and social needs as well as to cognitive ones. This attention to the whole teacher becomes critical in view of the pressures our teachers feel in trying to meet the social and emotional needs of their students in the face of urban problems and institutional constraints. It

takes many forms. First, we help each teacher or group to articulate needs, goals, and a rationale for their teaching and to assume responsibility for their own learning. Then we provide materials, activities, guidance, and "a sounding board" so that participants can learn and grow professionally through their own patterns of participation. We try to deepen their understanding of content and support reflection on the meaning of their work and the work of their students. Part of the process involves translating the teachers' learning into classroom equivalents. We assist teachers in analyzing the developmental needs of their students, organizing a student-centered classroom, and assessing student interests. We ask teachers to bring back samples of student work to study together. Finally, we offer advisory support in the classroom on invitation from the teacher and permission of the principal concerned.

We also help teachers perceive their work in an interdisciplinary mode. At the beginning of each year, we ask the Teacher Advisory Group to select a theme to integrate the year's program. When teachers request workshops during the year, we extend the scope of the request to embrace the theme. Our theme one year was "Structures and Forces." When teachers asked for a workshop on holiday ornaments, we responded with a workshop focused on the ornaments' shapes and the variable effects of heat in making ornaments from plastic. In each one-to-one or small-group consultation, we help teachers expand their lesson plans to include two or more subject areas related to a basic concept or main idea.

Major Problems

Because we are designed and run by teachers and rely on mutual trust among teachers, staff, and administration, major problems arise when administrators and consultants ask to use the Center in ways incompatible with our commitment to voluntary participation, differentiated activities, and active learning. Such requests include mandated workshops through released time or total faculty meetings. Our characteristic response is to concentrate on the learning possibilities in the request and to invent an alternative response which meets the request *and* maintains our integrity. For example, when a principal schedules a faculty meeting in the Center, we work out alternative activities in the Center and elsewhere from which teachers can select those which best meet their needs.

A second problem comes from our self-imposed responsibility to guard "the creative edge" of the district and at the

same time to support its basic educational objectives. Constantly we have to decide whether working on the one prevents growth of the other. This concern creates a pervasive, though subtle, pressure. By attending to the basic objectives and institutional procedures of the district, we have developed credibility which allows us to support the effective, nontraditional teachers who might otherwise leave the system.

A third problem is the time and energy spent in securing funds to meet the developing needs of teachers. Lack of funds decreases the number and quality of services; it also means time spent away from working with teachers. We accept this struggle because we believe in the effectiveness of the Center in nurturing professional growth.

A fourth problem arises from the need to maintain and deepen our work with those teachers who have used the Center continuously for three or four years and at the same time to respond to the spontaneous needs of newcomers. The demands range from providing materials and activities appropriate for newcomers to planning with oldtimers a long-term, in-depth program of curriculum development or study. This problem is compounded by the demands which federal, state, and district programs place of teachers in the form of required curriculum materials, testing, and multiple-record-keeping systems, all based on a different philosophy of learning and education. Confronted by these required activities, what kind of realistic support can we provide to the teachers who have developed more effective curricula for their students? How can we help them remain in the system without compromising their belief in developmental education?

Issues and Implications

Several issues stem from the above problems. The most critical is accountability, in particular, assessment criteria used to judge the "success" of educational practice. Most methods of evaluation in general use are not designed to measure the developmental learning encouraged by teacher centers such as ours. While appropriate methods have been devised (e.g., observation, interviews, and work samples) they have not been generally accepted by funding agencies, school boards, and the public.

Another issue concerns alternative modes of education. The fact that teacher centers have continued to function and increase in number indicates acceptance of alternative inservice. The fact that several older centers have closed or curtailed their services, however, implies that alternatives

are generally accepted only when there is sufficient money available to risk support of "different approaches." While teacher center legislation has been passed at state and federal levels, only time will tell whether teacher-centered, developmental, and voluntary centers will be implemented.

A third important issue involves public recognition of classroom teachers as knowledgeable professionals capable of making decisions about curriculum, classroom implementation, and their own professional education.

Basic to these three issues is public acceptance of a different theory of learning and an expanded view of education. The restructuring of public schooling which would follow from such a view of education is prefigured in the alternative format and process of TALC/Teacher Shelter.

TEACHER CENTERING IN TEXAS

Thomas E. Ryan

This statement is based on nine years of experience from September 1968 to June 1977. It describes what has occurred and coalesced under the heading "teacher centering" in Texas. In order to understand the Texas scene, one must realize that the state stretches about 1,000 miles from the northern border to the southern border and about the same distance from east to west. Texas has 1,100 independent school districts and 63 senior colleges and universities which prepare approximately 18,000 teachers each year. In addition, there are twenty Education Service Center regions that are legal Local Education Agencies which provide nonregulatory services to the 1,100 school districts. Texas teachers are certified for life; however, these same teachers are under contract and paid for ten full inservice days.

Getting Started

The development of teacher centers in Texas was influenced by three concurrent and complementary events. In 1968, the State began a comprehensive study of teacher education which resulted in the revised 1972 *Organization and Procedures for Approval of Teacher Education Programs* and *Standards for the Institutional Approval for Teacher Education in Texas*. In the sum-

mer of 1969, the 61st Texas Legislature enacted into law Senate Bill 8, effective September 1, 1970, which established Student Teacher Centers. In the summer of 1970, the Texas Performance-Based Triple T Project was funded by the U.S. Office of Education. This project evolved into the Texas Teacher Center Project. These events were essentially independent of each other. It was fortunate, however, that the State Department of Education had a facilitating role in each of them. Thus the state agency could coordinate multiple resources and build an integrated structure, infusing the strengths of each independent effort into the system as a whole.

The *Organization and Procedures* passed by the State Board of Education established teacher centering as an integral part of preservice and inservice education through the requirement of Local Cooperative Teacher Education Centers (LCTEC). Senate Bill 8 provided a legal base and limited resources for teacher center activities. The Teacher Center Project, with its additional resources and flexibility, challenged the education system by its avant garde approach. As a result, all sixty-three institutions of higher education and more than four hundred school districts have participated as members of teacher centers for the last five years at least.

Functions

Improving what happens to boys and girls in the elementary and secondary schools is the underlying goal in all the various actions collected under the teacher center label. Frequently, this takes the form of improving the performance, skills, knowledge, and programs of inservice and preservice teachers. For example, the Local Cooperative Teacher Education Centers in Texas have the following functions:

- To serve as a base for studying local teacher education program needs
- To plan delivery strategies and serve as a delivery system
- To advise on matters regarding teacher certification
- To advise on inservice programs
- To advise on student teaching and field experiences
- To develop procedures for recommending supervising teachers to serve the student teaching program
- To involve other agencies and groups as agreed upon by the participating members

Fort Worth combined the idea of a teacher center with its district-wide staff development resources. They converted an entire building into resource centers around various curricular areas. Teachers and other educational personnel use the center both formally and informally.

Operating Terms and Principles

Reflecting on the birth and growing pains of teacher centers over the last few years, I see the following ideas as characteristic of the Texas experience:

Teacher Center - This concept takes many forms in order to serve the needs of its members. Established by professional educators, a teacher center evolves in a form that fits its purposes, clientele, and local setting.

Site - The teacher center concept does not necessarily require a specific location. A site or sites is identified when one is required to carry out an agreed objective.

Teacher - The term "teacher" includes all professional educators wherever they may be found. As professionals, teachers are independent decision makers capable of self-determination.

Administration - An educational administrator must be a facilitator not a controller.

Local Determination - The authority for decision making must rest as much as possible with those who are affected by the decision.

Decision Making - Decisions should be made by consensus rather than by majority vote.

Cooperative - Teacher centers in Texas are cooperatives; their membership comes from the total educational enterprise - public schools, colleges and universities, education service centers, professional organizations.

Governance - The teacher center must be independent of the governance structures of its members. It would not be appropriate for any institutional member of a teacher center to impose its governance structure on the new entity. The governance of a teacher center must be shared by members as a body.

Scope - What is available anywhere should be available everywhere.

Funding - Always in short supply.

THE LEARNING EXCHANGE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Gail Johnston

The Learning Exchange grew out of my frustrations as a classroom teacher. Regardless of my teaching situation, I felt isolated from the outside world and ostracized by many colleagues when I looked for new ways of teaching and challenged accepted standards. Those of us who were questioning the validity of our work had no place to go for renewal; instead we would get together to talk and vent our frustrations. I felt stale. Picking up new games and methods was not really learning for me; it was dabbling with ideas. So I decided to renew my energy and curiosity by attending a weekend math/science workshop at the Learning Center in St. Louis. That weekend I learned by working through complex science and math problems with forty other teachers and parents. To help, we had each other, plenty of materials to "play" with, and a resource person who offered guidance not answers. The experience helped me verbalize what I needed to do my job better - an environment where I and others could learn to channel our frustrations into positive actions which would improve our effectiveness with students.

When I tried to sell the idea to universities, school districts, my teaching friends, few understood what I was talking about. One good friend and fellow teacher did. After much talk, research, and consultation, we decided to go to the "private sector" for funding and to create a center for *all* teachers in Kansas City. We wanted to expand the role of the teacher by providing opportunities for direct involvement with the people and resources of the community. We also wanted community leaders to learn about the plight of the schools.

In 1972, we launched The Learning Exchange with $2,000 of our own money. Today a staff of twelve works with a $275,000 annual budget. We continue to learn and to question the relevance of our work. Each new staff member brings new energy into The Exchange. Our focus continually matures and branches in new directions. We are still misunderstood and ignored, sometimes oversold, and many times successful.

The nerve center of The Learning Exchange is 10,000 square feet of warehouse space. To complement and utilize the wealth of materials kept there, the staff, with the help of parents and teachers, have developed specific programs and a unique organizational lifestyle.

The Learning Exchange is often called a "nesting ground for fertile ideas." The staff develops new programs with teachers and/or community participants when individual schools or districts do not have the time or resources. Examples of programs created with Exchange staff are "The Unseen City," "Economics in Action," the Dragon Gate project coordinated with the Nelson Art Gallery, and the extensive individualized instruction program in the Troost and Nelson schools.

Formal programs at The Learning Exchange develop from requests. Initially, the staff of two had their hands full doing many short, lively, hands-on workshops for teachers. Now we develop programs and then seek the necessary funding rather than wait to develop our ideas until money is in hand. The Learning Exchange has grown to include:

Inservice and professional growth credit courses. (This year we offered more than 50.)

Graduate credit courses from four local universities and colleges. (We had 200 participants last year.)

Workshops for children. Field trips for more than 1,000 children are organized by a staff member and run by volunteers.

Workshops for families. On Saturdays and Sundays The Learning Exchange offers a "learning together" unit for families.

The community teachers' programs. This program increases the quantity and quality of Exchange services while providing an exceptional professional opportunity for teachers. A network of relationships and good ideas is beginning to be built between the many separate school districts in the greater Kansas City area.

Recycle Resource Center. The Recycle Resource Center at the Exchange houses a large inventory of "scrounge" materials, items thrown away daily from homes and industry that can be turned into useful educational tools.

Newsletter. The *Exchanger* is published seven times a year. It contains educational ideas, community news, and schedules of Learning Exchange activities, and it spotlights interesting educators and schools in the greater metropolitan area.

Curriculum development. The staff has been asked to develop curriculum units in metrics, economics, and Chinese for various school districts. Next year this program will expand by using teachers from our Advisory to help develop new units.

While the direction and purpose of The Exchange is set, the personalities of staff and users determine specific priorities for realizing our goals. The size of the staff and the programs offered change from year to year. Our intent is to "sell" our programs out of business by getting school districts and other community organizations to adopt our ideas. Remaining sensitive to the educational needs of the community is important. It is also important to provide alternative ways of thinking about the educational system. The basic Learning Exchange philosophy is that the schools and the community are not separate. All our programs support the belief that children and adults should not be isolated from each other.

Over the years, various components of The Learning Exchange have been built. People join where they fit best and feel they can be most effective. In addition to the full-time Exchange staff and the community-wide staff of full-time teachers, The Learning Exchange has several components with special functions:

The Board of Directors, composed of a group of business people dedicated to the growth and financial support of The Exchange, helps The Exchange meet its budget each year. The Board invites interested individuals and groups to The Exchange, advises the staff about program development, and objectively reviews long-range goals.

A 100-member Advisory acts as the extended staff of The Learning Exchange. The advisers come from various professional backgrounds - teachers, parent groups, administrators, community organizations. Each adviser contributes ideas and assistance in his or her area of expertise, helping The Exchange better meet the needs of the professional groups represented. At the same time, the advisers have an opportunity to work with people from different interest groups.

An Auxiliary organization of women provides us with public relations and contacts in all fields. In addition, these women are among our most valuable volunteers. Eventually they will coordinate and implement a yearly fund-raising event.

To sustain the effectiveness of The Learning Exchange, money must continue to come from the community and from self-generated income rather than from district, state, or federal sources. Whenever we have tried to work with public money, we have been constrained by tradition; our impact has been con-

trolled, more short-range, and less effective than it is when we establish our own terms of operation. The Learning Exchange plans to be able to cover its basic operating expenses by 1980 through sales, fees, and services, leaving only special projects to be funded by grants.

We see The Learning Exchange as a social experiment which requires the energy of the whole community to succeed. Business people in the community continue to share this belief by providing or helping to raise funds through local trusts, foundations, private donations, and businesses.

Our flexibility is one of our real strengths. Still, it is sometimes difficult for everyone involved in The Exchange to keep track of where we are going, because ideas and people are always being added. We look at The Learning Exchange as a business on the free market; if we have good ideas and follow through on them, we will remain viable.

Our most difficult task is remaining patient...and remembering that change occurs slowly. People often want "instant" solutions that only hide the problems. While it is hard to work on many levels, we believe that change must take place in many segments of society - among parents, teachers, professors, businesses, administrators, students, and inner city and suburban populations.

It is our intent to get people to recognize their options and to find creative, long-term solutions to everyday concerns. This might entail helping a teacher, parent, or student create an educational tool to teach a specific skill, or it may involve working with a neighborhood group that wants to offer more forceful support for its schools. We try to take a constructive and positive role in whatever beginning process we are asked to join and to help the person or group to build on their own initiative and ideas as soon as possible. When we can pull out of the process and see a project continue to expand and remain viable, we feel that we have been successful.

THE OAKLAND SCHOOLS PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT CENTER

David W. Wells

The Michigan system of public education is a three-echelon system consisting of the State Department of Education, fifty-nine intermediate districts (regional service centers),

and approximately six hundred local school districts. In Michigan, every local district is a part of an intermediate district.

Oakland Schools is an intermediate district serving the schools within a geographic area that approximates a square thirty miles to a side and borders the city of Detroit on the south. Within that area, there are twenty-eight local school districts with a combined enrollment of about 220,000 students. In addition, the private schools in the area enroll about 20,000 students. The valuation of the Oakland Schools Intermediate District for tax purposes is about $8 billion.

Oakland Schools is a corporation governed by a five-member Board of Education. The members are laymen elected by a board of designates composed of one member from each constituent district's board of education. The Board of Education of Oakland Schools has the power to determine how its fiscal and personnel resources are to be allocated in any one year. The Board has taxing and bonding authority within charter provisions and statutory limits. In addition to these sources of revenue, the state school aid formula annually adopted by the Legislature provides additional income.

Oakland Schools is organized along traditional lines. The Board of Education is responsible for policymaking and employment. The Superintendent is primarily concerned with long-range planning and ongoing evaluation of corporate goals and objectives. The three major working divisions of Oakland Schools - Administrative Services, Personnel, and Instruction - are each directed by an assistant superintendent. (The Division of Instruction includes special and vocational education.)

Intermediate districts, such as Oakland Schools, were established by state law to carry out certain legal functions at the direction of the State Department of Education. Most of the required functions are carried out by the divisions of Administrative Services and Personnel. For example, within the intermediate district, Oakland Schools is responsible for enforcing the teacher licensing code, transportation code, finance accounting code, federal school lunch code, and the child accounting code. State law also permits intermediate districts to complement and enhance the operations and programs offered by local school districts.

For more than twenty years, Oakland Schools has accomplished most of the required and permitted tasks by providing local schools with opportunities for staff development in academic and professional specialities. At the present time, Oakland Schools employs approximately 110 specialists, 39 of whom have doctorates, to assist local school districts. The specialists are supported by sophisticated computer technology and reference materials.

The following are some of the diverse staff development services, activities, and programs offered by Oakland Schools:

- Installation, evaluation, and maintenance of a management system for reading instruction
- The matching of vocational textbooks to students' ability to read
- Intern program for reading specialists
- Diagnosis of reading difficulties
- Priorities in teaching elementary school mathematics
- English as a second language
- Outdoor science education
- Safety for students in the science laboratory
- Installation and evaluation of a vocational education information system
- Interpretation and use of test results to increase learning
- Evaluation of guidance programs
- Criteria for selecting a mathematics textbook series
- Helping children with impaired hearing in regular classrooms
- Monitoring the achievement of special education students
- Accounting procedures for schools
- Automated personnel files
- Management of a school lunch program
- Management of transportation programs
- Computer technology for managers
- Courses and projects in social studies

Many of these activities require a substantial commitment of time and resources. Others can be completed in a short time. For example, a small group of teachers might want to "talk through" a series of lessons in reading or mathematics, learn to conduct an automated search for references related to a specific question, select a film for a special purpose, seek information about current trends in a particular field, or participate in a make-and-take workshop in science or mathematics.

Oakland Schools is able to carry out a broad range of activities and respond to the needs of its constituents because of its highly trained staff and its ready access to schools, teachers, and students. Thus the staff can take the initiative in developing programs, seminars, workshops, and other activities with teachers, administrators, and students.

Much of the impetus for staff development comes from the instructional leaders of the local districts. Each department within the working divisions of Oakland Schools has a steering committee or advisory group composed of professionals from the local districts who are concerned with the work of

that department. These advisory groups meet regularly during the school year. They apprise the department of district needs, provide advice and guidance on the types of activities and services that Oakland Schools should furnish, help plan seminars and workshops, and participate in evaluating them.

Recent developments - declining enrollments, changing populations, negotiated contracts, the increasing average number of years of experience of professional personnel in a school district, and the difficulty of local districts in obtaining sufficient revenues just to keep schools open - stimulated the Oakland Schools staff to reexamine its work. Were the methods being used to assess district needs still appropriate? Were the staff development activities satisfying those needs in the most practical and efficient ways? To find out, the instructional leaders of each of the twenty-eight constituent districts were interviewed by members of Oakland Schools staff. The purpose of the interview was to encourage each group to discuss the needs of the district over the next five years and to suggest how the staff of Oakland Schools could help meet these needs. Forty-six major concerns or needs were identified. Some of them could not be accommodated within our operational structure because they required the resources of a university.

As a consequence of the findings of the needs assessment, Oakland University School of Education was invited to participate as an equal partner in the establishment of a Professional Development Center. As partners in the operation of the Center, each institution would contribute human and financial resources for mounting appropriate staff development activities. Also, the Center could serve as a vehicle for organizing the many talents of teachers and administrators in the local districts to develop and offer programs for the benefit of all local districts in the service area.

As planned, the Center will have a twenty-one member Advisory Council composed of eleven teachers and ten nonteachers (superintendents, principals, directors, etc.). This Council will help assess the needs of the local districts and suggest appropriate staff development activities.

An important task that has not yet been achieved is the creation of a governance structure. Such a structure must not only provide ways for Oakland Schools and Oakland University to influence the operational activities of the Center, but it must also provide the same opportunities to other professional groups and associations in the service area. This will be a difficult task. Still, all of the groups and associations recognize that if a Center were established, the teachers and administrators of Oakland County would have access to a

greater variety of professional development activities directly related to their professional assignment and more options for satisfying the requirements of an advanced degree.

The attempt to establish a Professional Development Center is the latest effort of Oakland Schools to provide appropriate staff development activities for the staff members of each of its constituent districts. If a governance structure can be designed which ensures the integrity of the institutions, professional groups, and associations involved, there is every reason to believe that the Center will be a valuable asset to the educational enterprise.

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS/ UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA TEACHER CENTER

Fredrick V. Hayen

The MPS/UM Teacher Center should not, perhaps, continue to claim the title "teacher center," since evolution has carried it away from some of the basic concepts associated with teacher centers. For example, the Center does not serve teachers exclusively; professors, school and college administrators, parents, and undergraduate and graduate students are numbered among its clientele. Nor is it governed by teachers alone. As a collaborative agency of two major systems, it has a simple governance body of four members - two top-level administrators from each system.

On the other hand, the MPS/UM Teacher Center has acquired its current label quite legitimately. The Center grew out of the Southeast Alternatives Program of Minneapolis, a National Institute of Education Experimental School Project which began in 1971 and completed its externally funded phase in the spring of 1976. The original Center was a true teacher center (Hayen, 1974). It was governed by a board dominated by teachers, with representation of parents, administrators, and the College of Education. That Center was essentially a responsive agency, creating opportunities for professional and personal development requested by the faculties of the five schools it served. Because the gap between those requesting help and those responding was minimal, the Center could effectively reduce the risk associated with behavioral changes.

The rooting of the MPS/UM Teacher Center in traditional teacher center roles and alternative school development has

significantly influenced the character and activities of the current collaborative center. We prefer to use a descriptive definition of collaboration: the school system and University "are not accountable one to the other. They do, however, occupy the same life space and interact with each other; hence they need to be responsive to each other" (Howsam, 1974). During its four-year life, the Center has progressed through several stages and organizational forms. Each stage has been characterized by (a) a flat organizational profile, (b) multiple avenues for individuals and groups to gain access to services, and (c) a significant proportion of resources addressed to a response mode of service delivery. The collaborative nature of the Center does, however, circumscribe the boundaries of the Center's functions, limiting activities to concerns and interests of *both* parent agencies. In practice, those are not serious limitations.

The Center has developed organically, taking its organizational shape from the needs of its clientele and the applied resources of the parent agencies. The Center spends some of its energy securing additional resources from external grants and contracts. Its core support from the parent institutions - school and University - has been the basis of strength for acquiring external resources.

Unique Characteristics

Those who are close to the Center and committed to its purposes and programs are the least objective about its uniqueness. We tend to believe that everything we do has been created from primal material. It is always sobering to discover how much we resemble others, regardless of roots or location. In spite of these commonalities, we surely do have some special characteristics:

Institutional collaboration. The MPS/UM Teacher Center operates under this banner and, as an organization, actively explores the nature of institutional collaboration, the range and intensity of joint institutional activities, and the administration and governance of such an agency. Our belief and commitments suggest that teacher education, at any level, is best addressed by close association between teacher training institutions and school systems. We reject the efforts by some to use teacher centers as a power play to diminish teacher training institutions. Such a strategy is short-sighted and self-defeating. Without the base of theory and research provided by institutions of higher education, our profession

would quickly revert to a simple craft, subject to elimination by the do-it-yourself movement.

Alternative Education. The Center's association with Minneapolis, with deep roots in the development of schools of choice, provides an unusual foundation. The Center is not *responsible* for alternative schools in Minneapolis. It sometimes assists school and community representatives in developing such schools and helps sustain the growth of existing ones. Federal support through projects like Teacher Corps is particularly valuable in this work. Alternative program activity provides an excellent vehicle for the kind of school - university - community interaction that characterizes this Center.

Problem Solving. The inclination of the Center is to work with clients through problem-solving processes. Problem-solving activity is difficult to initiate because it places considerable responsibility on the client to initiate contact. It requires skilled and dedicated staff to sustain the activity, since a relationship which supports "risk behavior" must be established. The processes and formats are complex. One of the Center's problem-solving teams is composed of diverse representatives from schools, university, and community.

Dissemination/Diffusion. One of the major departments of the MPS/UM Teacher Center is the Exchange, a dissemination agency, brokerage, or linking agent which connects the people who have developed new programs with the people who are ready to adapt and use them. This organization offers specific, sequential, and responsive services to a broad constituency of school people who are attempting to upgrade their programs at minimal cost. This agency has access to resources nationwide. Additional support for the Exchange to link projects developed in Minnesota with other Minnesota schools is provided by our State Department of Education.

Speciality of the House

The Center is at its best when a teacher, professor, administrator, or a group of them, has a concern of such overwhelming importance that we are asked to share it with them. Our role in this situation may take the form of administrative support, coordination, financial assistance, technical assistance in locating and acquiring external resources, moral support, sympathy, or a combination of these and other roles. The Center attempts to put some portion of its power as an organization behind the groups or individual with needs or ideas which require nurturing or response.

Major Problems

Anyone coordinating a teacher center who does not have financial problems has not talked to the bookkeeper lately. Those managing collaborative agencies have financial and related problems.

One of these problems relates specifically to the nature and the function of collaborative agencies. Within the space in which the activities and needs of two major educational systems overlap, the potential presumably exists to function on resources which are duplicated by the two systems. It seems logical that a collaborative center could operate on one half the duplicate resources, delivering equal services for less cost. Alternatively, such a center could operate on all the duplicate resources of the two systems and deliver new, more and/or better services for the same cost to each system. Either assumption has a positive cost-benefit outcome. Although we believe that either is possible, we have not yet proved it, and this important issue deserves further exploration.

A second major problem for our Center relates to expansion. The College of Education and Minneapolis have joined hands in a major enterprise, the Teacher Center, which has had some success. Now the question arises, "How do other school systems join?" The College of Education does not have the resources to work with all school districts as extensively as it has with Minneapolis. Nevertheless, it has statewide responsibilities and must respond to requests for outreach and service from the State's schools. In 1977-78 we plan to implement an organizational model which could allow other school districts to contribute personnel to a *problem-solving team* and receive from it a form of service not normally available to a school district. A paper describing the model will be available by the fall of 1977 from the Teacher Center. The problem of expansion raises the following questions: How many systems can be accommodated? How many teams can be trained and managed? A number of critical components must carry over from one year to the next in order to take advantage of what has been learned. This involves a delicate sequence which can easily be damaged by failure in leadership or unexpected crises.

The Center must always be able to anticipate emerging issues within the schools and College. While it takes its direction from its clientele, the Center must also anticipate what the clientele requires. Major design errors can be fatal if they result in a static organization which cannot respond. When the phones quit ringing, the Center is out of business.

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IV

ANALYSIS OF ISSUES

CHAPTER 5

TEACHER CENTERS AS PERSONS-IN-RELATION

DAVID E. HUNT

Teacher centers exemplify shifts that are occurring in many areas, as in the relation between theory and practice and adult learning. They represent new patterns of relationships and new ways of thinking that serve as concrete illustrations of an alternative, nontraditional approach to enhancing professional growth and development. The core features of teacher centers - practical emphasis, local responsibility, and use of specific, concrete experiences - pose a dilemma for generating "policy" principles, since these are usually considered to be very general. They also lead one to ask whether teachers like to learn in the same way that they teach. I propose that thinking of teacher centers as persons-in-relation may form a basis for thinking about issues and for characterizing the instructional role of centers and the differences among them. To develop this idea, a consideration of some relevant aspects of educational and social psychology may be in order.

The Myths of Generality and Program Implementation

Until recently the central aim of theory and research in psychology and education was to discover and verify principles that were invariant and universal; once these principles were identified, they could then be "applied" or "implemented." Psychology's most cherished examples are the so-called laws of learning. However, these laws lack generality (McKeachie,

1974), and they cannot be replicated over a variety of situations and times. Lee Cronbach (1975) recently acknowledged psychology's failure to identify general principles, and he concludes with the startling suggestion that psychologists should emulate humanists and artists.

Kathleen Devaney (1976, p. 43) punctures the myth of generality in relation to teacher centers:

> If you would try to divest a center of its personality - its people, place, time, problems - and get down to its generalized basics in order to replicate it, give up. The basics of a teachers' center *are* its personality - leadership, followership, grassroots idiosyncracies. Any new center must start on its own. Trying to abstract and segment someone else's experience, you will lose their essence - and not find your own.

Replicability is also the criterion of the educational technologist and the objective evaluator who believe that if one can describe in sufficient detail what teachers should do this will make it so. When it does not, the response is often to specify in greater detail and to monitor "programs" more carefully. It is not coincidental that the word "program" refers both to a prescribed method by which teachers are to teach and to the basis of a computer's activity; the goal of successful implementation in the classroom is that the teacher become a computer.

This myth has been debunked empirically by studies such as Goodlad and Klein's *Behind the Classroom Door* (1970). The inevitable slippage in application has been described as a "non-event" (Charters and Jones, 1973) or as a function of the disparity between "espoused theories" and "theories-in-use" (Argyris, 1975). The failure of innovative programs in general has also been documented by the RAND studies, which additionally described successful strategies of implementation:

> The adaptive implementation strategies defined by effectively implemented local projects were comprised of three common and critical components - local materials development; concrete, on-going training; on-line or adaptive planning and regular, frequent staff meetings (McLaughlin, 1976, p. 412).

These conclusions draw attention to the major reason for the failure of large-scale innovative programs: they ignored the teacher, the most critical feature of any program. It has always amazed me that most evaluation reports describe a

"program" and its effects without reference to the teachers. Fortunately, teacher centers are helping to change that, and the three components in the above quotation could serve as guiding principles in many centers.

The Reality of Specificity

As we abandon the traditional notions of generality of principles and replication of programs, we need alternative ways to describe our work in order to communicate with one another and to reflect on it. In a fascinating article, "What goes on in our schools?", John Goodlad (1977) describes plans for a three-year study of 75 schools in the United States to answer his title question. His comments suggest that variations among schools may be as important as their commonalities. Devaney's comments about the idiosyncracies of each center and its development might be applied to every teacher's experience in the classroom. How can this experience be described in ways that will contribute to the experience of others?

In working with teachers, I find it useful to translate Kurt Lewin's formula - Behavior is a result of the Person and the Environment - into the following classroom equivalents: learning outcomes (B), students (P), and teaching approaches (E). In addition, the content, time, and place of instruction must be considered. These six aspects - outcomes, students, teaching approaches, content, time, and place - can serve as reminders of the specifics to be accounted for in descriptions of particular learning environments, be they classrooms or teacher centers.

The Reality of Differences Among Teachers

Despite much concern about individual differences among students, it is surprising that the differences among the more than three million teachers in North America receive so little attention. Differences between inexperienced and experienced teachers or between secondary and elementary teachers are usually noted, but further distinctions are required. The first step in adapting to differences among individual students is to identify the important ways in which they differ, e.g., learning style, developmental stage. Such an approach might be useful for teachers as well. Katz (1972) has proposed that the career development of teachers be considered in terms of four stages: survival, consolidation, renewal,

and maturity. Last summer a group of teachers with whom I was working came up with a less elegant stage which they called "The Seven-Year Itch." It is less important that we accept these specific stages than that we try to understand how teachers develop and how their development may be enhanced by teacher centers. We need to identify those characteristics of teachers that are linked to professional growth and to different ways of learning. Such descriptions could also provide clues about why certain teachers are attracted to a particular center while others are not.

A three-level notion originally proposed by Kluckhohn and Murray (1948, p. 35) to describe differences among students can be paraphrased to describe differences among teachers as well:

Every teacher is in some respects
1. Like *all* other teachers
2. Like *some* other teachers
3. Like *no* other teachers

Several recent studies have identified important differences among teachers which seem intuitively reasonable and linked to how and why they might change. Barnes (1976, p. 144-45) has distinguished teachers on a dimension ranging from transmission to interpretation (Table 1).

In *Beyond Surface Curriculum*, Bussis, Chittenden, and Amarel (1976) characterize teachers' beliefs along a number of dimensions central to the philosophy of open education. Their data come from intensive interviews with sixty teachers, many of whom were associated with teacher centers. One dimension involves the teachers' view of interaction and its relationship to learning. Whereas some teachers did not perceive interaction as significant for learning, others viewed it as reciprocity, the process of learning itself.

Bennett's evaluation of informal schooling in Britain (1976) showed that teachers' beliefs were important determinants of how they taught. He suggests they account for the low incidence of informal teaching in the third and fourth grade classrooms observed.

Taking account of teacher attitudes, therefore, seems critical in understanding why teachers use particular styles and approaches. This raises an important question for teacher centers: how to view particular dimensions of differences among teachers. For example, should the transmission-interpretation dimension be considered a developmental hierarchy, or should both orientations be given equal value? In the first case, enhancement would mean becoming more interpretive. In the second, the interpretive teacher would be enhanced by learning to transmit.

Table 1.

THE TRANSMISSION TEACHER...	THE INTERPRETATION TEACHER...
(1) Believes knowledge to exist in the form of public disciplines which include content and criteria of performance	(1) Believes knowledge to exist in the knower's ability to organize thought and action
(2) Values the learner's performances insofar as they conform to the criteria of the discipline	(2) Values the learner's commitment to interpreting reality, so that criteria arise as much from the learner as from the teacher
(3) Perceives the teacher's task to be the evaluation and correction of the learner's performance, according to criteria of which he is the guardian	(3) Perceives the teacher's task to be the setting up of a dialogue in which the learner can reshape his knowledge through interaction with others
(4) Perceives the learner as an uninformed acolyte for whom access to knowledge will be difficult since he must qualify himself through tests of appropriate performance	(4) Perceives the learner as already possessing systematic and relevant knowledge, and the means of reshaping that knowledge

Jackson (1971) characterizes two modes of inservice teacher training: a "defect" approach which emphasizes specific skill acquisition, and a "growth" approach which regards the teacher-learner as an active participant. Like most of us, Jackson favors the latter approach. Might it be possible, however, that teachers who are more transmission-oriented (according to Barnes) would favor the defect approach, while the interpretation-oriented teachers would profit from a growth approach?

It seems unlikely that the pattern of relation between teacher-as-teacher and teacher-as-learner would form a mirror image, especially if the teacher were teaching very young children. Nevertheless, there is certain to be some relation. For example, in the case of teacher trainees, there is a relation between a trainee's "conceptual level" (a theoretical term for learning style) and his initially preferred teaching

style. Trainees lower in conceptual development initially prefer to teach in a one-way, noninteractive fashion (Hunt and Joyce, 1967). Thus some teacher centers may be less attractive to some teachers because they endorse only one mode of teaching and learning.

There Is Nothing So Practical as Good Theory: Application of Matching Model

I used to believe with Kurt Lewin that "there is nothing so practical as a good theory." For reasons I describe I became disenchanted and now believe that "there is nothing so theoretical as good practice."

During the late 1960s I developed a simple principle for matching educational approach to the student, based on a theory of personality development (Harvey, *et al.*, 1961). The basic student dimension was conceptual level (CL) defined in terms of increasing capacity to process information and of increasing interpersonal maturity. The basic matching principle was: "Low CL learners profit more from high structure, and high CL learners profit more from low structure, or in some cases, are less affected by variation in structure" (Hunt, 1971, p. 44). If CL is translated into student need for structure or teacher support, the principle simply restates a relation which good teachers have known all along. In taking the obvious seriously, however, I discovered some interest in "applying" this principle in various educational contexts: alternative schools, homogeneous classrooms grouped by CL or learning style, and heterogeneous classrooms using independent learning contracts and other individualized approaches. Between 1968 to 1975, I helped launch a "twinning" program in which two junior high schools were organized on the basis of learning style. Many classroom teachers tried out some of the matching ideas. When we looked seriously "behind the classroom door," however, we found that students were not always experiencing different approaches from their teachers. There seemed to be two major causes for this slippage. I had not taken into account each teacher's beliefs or teaching style so that our suggestions could be viewed within a context of why and how the teacher was teaching, and I had not given enough attention to the day-to-day, concrete details of adapting to students with different learning styles. For the past two years, my colleagues and I have taken a different approach to the matching problem, an approach which seems closer to what goes on in teacher centers.

There Is Nothing So Theoretical As Good Practice

The traditional theory-to-practice view asserts that one builds theories, verifies them, derives theoretically based programs prescribing what teachers will do, and teachers then apply them to the students. I have found it useful to reverse the sequence. By beginning with the student, the importance of "student pull" (Hunt, 1976) is highlighted, as is the teacher's response to the student. The challenge to the theorist, then, is to understand how the practitioner operates, i.e., to theorize about the relation between the teacher and student.

Bussis, Chittenden, and Amarel (1976) based their teacher interviews on the ideas of George Kelly (1955), a psychologist who took the remarkably logical assumption that in coping with day-to-day interpersonal experience, everyone is a psychologist. Therefore, if you want to understand another person, you need to know something about his psychological theory, or in Kelly's terms, his personal constructs. I have adapted Kelly's Role Concept Repertory (REP) test to identify a teacher's implicit psychological theory. For example, to find out more about a teacher's dimensions and descriptions of students (P), the teacher writes the names of several students on separate cards, sorts the cards by triadic sorting as Kelly suggested ("Which two of these three are alike in some important way and different from the third?") or by free sorting into groups, and finally describes the basis for sorting. Repeating this procedure produces a list of student characteristics which reflect the teacher's repertory of role constructs. A similar approach can be used to identify teachers' concepts about teaching approaches (E) and learning outcomes (B). Table 2 is an example of some B-P-E constructs used by one teacher.

Table 2.

Student Characteristics (P)	Teaching Approaches (E)	Learning Outcomes (B)
Aggressive	Small group discussion	Feels more confident
Independent	Question/ answer	Draws conclusion
Withdrawn	Role playing	Shows enthusiasm

In my courses with teachers I often use REP sorting procedures to help teachers clarify their theories about students, teaching, and learning, and to make explicit the matching models by which they operate. I have also used these procedures to facilitate discussions among school faculty about desirable learning outcomes.

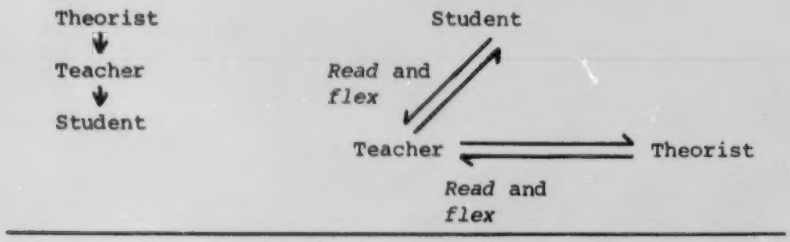
Process Skill Profile: Evaluation as a Strategy of Change

One reason teachers may not emphasize process skill acquisition, e.g., generating hypotheses and systematic search, is that such objectives are not easily measured; in contrast with content learning, process skill acquisition may go unnoticed. Assuming that teachers will favor objectives which can be measured and evaluated, we have developed a "process skill profile" to assess the pattern of student skills needed for independent learning. The profile is based partly on skills required in independent learning contracts (identifying a topic, outlining what is to be done, identifying resources, setting deadlines). Students are given a compressed independent study task consisting of a topic to work on and an indexed data bank. By observing how a student carries out the task, we can measure his profile of skills in independent learning and design training exercises for students deficient in particular skills. Both the skills assessments and the training exercises are discussed with the teachers. We plan to collaborate on further adaptations of these procedures.

Implicit Matching: "Reading" and "Flexing"

Gradually I have come to realize that the matching principle is only a metaphor which can be helpful if it facilitates the teacher's implicit, minute-to-minute matching to the student. The teacher's implicit matching or response to "student pull" involves "reading" (being sensitized to the student) and "flexing" (modulating according to how the student is "read") (Hunt, 1976). "Reading" and "flexing" may be facilitated by explicit matching procedures, but in my experience they are helped most by discussions between teacher and theorist. Thus I have reformulated (Figure 1) the theory-to-practice process as one of persons-in-relation (Hunt, in press).

Figure 1.



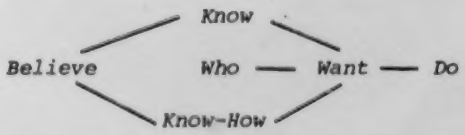
Teacher Development as Persons-In-Relation

To consider activities in a teacher center in terms of persons-in-relation, one needs an adequate conception of a person. The minimum essentials involve the following features (Hunt, in press):

1. Identify: *Who* is the person?
2. Intention: What does the person *want*?
3. Attitude: What does the person *believe*?
4. Knowledge: What does the person *know*?
5. Competence: What does the person *know how* to do?
6. Action: What is the person *doing* now?

We can schematically represent a person as in Figure 2.

Figure 2.

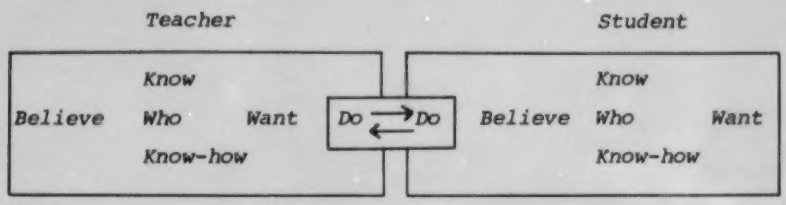


Placing the six features into a diagram immediately raises many questions about the relation among features. I do not propose this organization as a final theory of personality structure and dynamics.

One way to try out this scheme is to apply it to several different interpersonal patterns, e.g., teacher-student, teacher-teacher, teacher-consultant. Teacher-student interaction may be represented as in Figure 3. (Teacher-teacher

and teacher-consultant interactions can be represented in the same way.

Figure 3.



The interaction between teacher and student includes both verbal and nonverbal actions. For example, the teacher's understanding of the student is a function of the teacher's *knowledge* of the student in terms of all six features. "Reading" would involve interpreting student features from student *action* into teacher *knowledge*, while "flexing" would assume appropriate *know-how* translated into adaptive *action* by the teacher.

Teachers-in-relation might involve agreeing on a common concern, such as how to work with a particular student, and sharing relevant knowledge. From a persons-in-relation view, teacher development is characterized by change in one or more features, or perhaps more important, by a change in the pattern of relations among the features.

It is important that teacher-and-consultant-in-relation share their intentions. As a consultant, I do not present myself as an "expert," but rather as someone who can help teachers become aware of what they do and why. Stated in terms of the diagram, it is essential that teacher actions become part of teacher knowledge if those actions are to be modified.

Characterizing Teacher Centers as Persons-In-Relation

The persons-in-relation scheme may be useful for describing a group of teachers initially responsible for launching a center: their intentions, attitudes, knowledge, know-how, and actions. As many descriptions of teacher centers indicate, trust is a vital ingredient. Although we will never be able to measure trust completely, one indication might be

the degree to which the participants are willing to let one another know where they are with respect to the six features identified.

One organizational consequence of two or more persons sharing intentions is that they establish a network. The discussions on networks by Sarason and colleagues (1976, 1977) are illuminating for teacher centers, I think. In describing the creation of settings, Sarason (1972) states that most seem to "burn out" in about five years. Teacher centers are dedicated to the self-renewal of teachers. To sustain this intensive, interpersonal work, centers must consider how they can keep replenished with energy. As I read about various teacher centers, I am struck by their similarities to alternative schools. Do centers intend to serve only a selected clientele, e.g., only interpretation-oriented teachers, as an alternative school, or do they propose to meet the needs of a wide variety of teachers? In either case, teacher centers will need to give more specific attention to how teachers learn and how teachers' learning styles are related to their teaching styles. These issues pose a basic challenge to teacher centers. I am hopeful that viewing teacher centers as a process of persons-in-relation will underscore some of the important psychological factors which must be considered in creating and sustaining any teacher center organization.

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CHAPTER 6

TEACHER CENTERS AND THE CHARACTER OF CURRICULAR CHANGE

L. C. TAYLOR

In OECD member countries, teacher centers exhibit a variety of forms, pursue a number of functions, and engage in a diversity of activities. Viewed from an international perspective, teacher centers seem to have found many gaps to fill in the existing provision for teacher support and development. If, however, we were to ask what above all has persuaded educational authorities in the many countries to establish teacher centers, the answer would surely be a desire to find some effective way to disseminate and implement major curricular change. In many OECD countries, kinks in the birthrate, school consolidation, reorganization of post-primary schooling, and sheer antiquity have led to the retiring from active service of a number of old schools, especially primary schools. Many of these have taken a new lease on life, quickly and at modest cost, as teacher centers. Despite this fortunate initial economy, however, the centers add to total expenditures at a time when educational budgets are under the sharpest scrutiny. The centers' future level of activity, if not their future existence, is likely to depend principally on the contribution they make to substantial "improvement" (however that may be judged) in the curriculum.

In Britain, where diverse teacher centers in considerable number have been operating for a decade (Taylor, 1976), the conventional wisdom suggests that the centers have had a significant effect at the primary level but little at the secondary. Rates of attendance at the centers testify to the difference. Explanation takes many forms. The primary teacher, working in a small school, looks to the center for social

and professional exchange which the secondary teacher can usually find among his immediate colleagues. Again for reasons of size, primary schools cannot own and keep on their premises the technical and learning resources a secondary school deploys. Because the primary teacher is a generalist, almost any talk or meeting is grist for his mill. In contrast, the secondary teacher is a specialist; if he is a physicist, for example, he chiefly wants to meet other specialist physicists. This propensity reduces the attraction of the teacher center, especially in rural areas where physicists will be few and far between.

Despite this limitation, a number of OECD countries such as the United States, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Australia, New Zealand, and Portugal, are working at various stages, from discussion to major implementation, to set up teacher centers. It is safe to predict that the centers will make a substantial contribution at the primary level. Will the differing patterns of management and operation being adopted or considered enable them to overcome the relative impotence which British centers exhibit at the secondary level? Is there a fundamental difference in the character of the curriculum, as presently conceived at primary and secondary levels, which makes the centers an apt and major strategy for renewal in the former and an inevitably weak or subsidiary element in the latter?

Curriculum Development in the 1950s and 1960s

Perhaps the best way into this puzzle is to consider the fate of "classic" attempts at major curriculum development in the '50s and '60s. Teams of scholars and writers were gathered by the great foundations or by governments to compose curriculum materials. The full roll call of projects would occupy many pages. But for all the skilled effort and massive expenditure, the results have been disappointing in both quantity and quality. An unexpectedly modest proportion of schools have adopted the new materials and, even when the materials have formally been used, the results often parody the authors' intentions. Somehow the essential change in spirit which these new materials were supposed to induce has not occurred. In America, Paul Brandwein (1969) had this to say in his evaluation of the new science curricula:

> It is curious to note how the educational community changes its words but not its deeds; thus "learning

by doing" is replaced by "learning through discovery," "the discovery method" or "the problem-solving method" by "inquiry." Yet observations will show that in the majority of high schools, teachers of science lecture 80 per cent of the class time, and that the laboratory time is given over to "doing experiments" with equipment laid out in advance, hence the results are postulated in advance. Yet teachers and administrators will assure the observer that the new curriculums (PSSC, CHEMS, BSCS and the like), are being used and "inquiry" is the mode of instruction.

Similarly, modern language teachers in Sweden, where the Direct Method has been established for twenty-five years, believed they were giving pupils ample opportunity to practice speaking the language. Yet a detailed and extensive stopwatch study revealed that they did so far less than eight per cent of their teaching time (Von Metzner, 1966). No doubt, "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" applies in other subjects, in other countries.

In examining the difficulties of inducing effective implementation, as distinct from simple "dissemination," we should notice that curriculum change has been pursued at different levels. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to distinguish three. The first level involves evolutionary change, a matter of minor adjustments, additional resources, or more effective presentation, all broadly contained within the established syllabus and seldom straying beyond familiar methods of teaching. At the second level, where expert opinion dictates a revolution in the content or emphasis of a subject, the new materials embody a wholesale realignment, from "traditional" to "modern" mathematics, from a written to an oral approach in learning a foreign language, and so on. At the third level, curriculum change is less a matter of what pupils learn and more a matter of how they learn it. Generally speaking, the recent shift has been toward learning heuristically and actively, in small groups and as individuals, rather than learning by received authority, passively, in whole classes.

The new curricula often incorporate in a single set of materials changes at all three levels, and this has created problems. Teachers initially attracted by a superb presentation of some familiar items find themselves drawn into teaching unfamiliar and imperfectly mastered topics, attempting new methods for which their initial training did not prepare them, and trying out patterns of behavior wholly at variance with the traditional relationship of teacher, pupil, and

materials. The project teams which produce new materials are invariably selected from outstanding teachers, often reinforced and sometimes led by university specialists. They all too easily assume knowledge and skills in the teacher (not to mention intelligence, good order, and responsiveness in children) sadly at variance with average experience.

Project teams quickly learned to guard against the danger of getting out of touch with normal situations by including many "ordinary" schools in their experimental sample. However, the feedback and revision cycle ensured that those who wrote and those who tried out the materials grew steadily and slowly into a full understanding of them. When the materials were finally published, and the "average" teacher received them in finished form - refined, complete, external, and *cold*, the originators were surprised by a spate of trivial objections, naive questions, and absurd misunderstandings.* A teacher often experiences the same sort of amazement when he neatly expounds some concept, clear to him from years of grappling with it, only to find children fogged and befuddled. He then attributes their lack of understanding to a variety of causes, such as previous bad habits or insufficient attention; more often, the cause is sheer lack of time, time for the learners to view the unfamiliar concept from a variety of angles, to connect it with their store of previous knowledge and experience, to rephrase it in more familiar terms, to imagine its application in varying situations... in a word, to play with it until they can properly absorb and internalize it.

The methods for facilitating this slow process are familiar: explanation by the teacher, visible demonstration, repetition, individual exercises, practical application, and discussion of difficulties among the learners. It is precisely this range of activities, spread over time, that teachers require when, like beginners, they have to learn new ideas or adopt new methods. The most carefully prepared materials and teachers' guides constitute no more than a basic "textbook" which must be incorporated into the normal complex of learning activities if teachers are to understand it properly.

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*Valéry once described a poem as being like a heavy weight which the poet had carried to the roof bit by bit, and the reader as a passerby upon whom the weight is dropped all at once. The products of curriculum development in this respect alone are like poems, only heavier.

Clearly, the more profound curricular changes (at our levels 2 or 3) require a different scale of inservice education from that required by minor, evolutionary adjustment. As late as 1971 in Britain, however, of every £100 spent on training teachers, £94 was spent on initial training and £6 on inservice training. That distribution represented a static situation in which what a teacher learned at the start of his career was expected to suffice, with small modifications, to its end. Recent revolutionary curricular change requires a change not only in the quantity but in the style of inservice education. The traditional "one-shot" inservice course is not enough; rather, teacher development needs to be more participatory and cooperative, more extended and continuous, and therefore more "local." This explains the spread of teacher centers to so many countries where radical curriculum development has been attempted.

Assimilating the New Curricula

Looking back at the experience of curriculum development in the '50s and '60s, we can see that developing the new-style curricular materials and stopping there was rather like making keys which, alas, would not turn the lock. The lock was composed of intricate and interlocking elements evolved to match traditional ideas of teaching. Any radical change in learning materials had contingent effects on the working of the whole system. Whereas making new keys, even golden keys, proved relatively easy, reconstructing the tumblers of the lock to match has proved a very difficult task indeed. Teacher centers are heavily involved in matching keys and locks, a process which sometimes involves modifying a key and other times reconstructing a lock. A major element of the reconstruction is the retraining of teachers; but there are others we need briefly to consider because they also affect the work of teacher centers.

The elements of a school structure fit together into a coherent system which supports and accentuates its central assumptions. A visitor from another planet, not blinded by custom or confused by nuance, would at once perceive that present arrangements in most middle and secondary schools are based on the premise that pupils will get most of their learning from the spoken words of a teacher. Witness the succession of isolated and insulated rooms, individual desks lined up arena-style, period-by-period timetables, ability grouping, prescriptive syllabi for all to follow, minimal

learning materials, a discipline suited to passive listening, and so on.

Most of the new curricula substantially qualify this premise of oral, whole-class teaching. As a consequence, the entire learning system is affected in numerous and interdependent ways (e.g., Gross, *et al.*, 1971). At the more obvious level of changes in the timetable or in the physical setup of classrooms, the implications of the new curricula are now understood well enough. Less obvious and more profound implications, however, are often not appreciated in advance, and schools discover that in cheerfully adopting some fashionable curriculum they have unwittingly grabbed the tail of a tiger. The Humanities project in Britain provides a good example (Ruddock, 1976).

Secondary schools tend to be large, their administration complex, their organizational structure subject-based. Curricular materials embodying significant changes in the dominant style of learning, in disciplinary practices or classroom relationships, have often been introduced independently, in one subject or another, as though each subject were firmly insulated from the rest. While this illusion is convenient for innovators and evaluators, the more complex reality is finally being recognized officially and investigated. The SAFARI project, for example, focuses on the impact of four new curriculum projects in Britain upon apparently uninvolved people - teachers of other subjects in a school, headteachers, administrators, inspectors, parents - in a word, on all those who are part and parcel of that integrated system which provides children with their schooling. Clearly, if major curricular changes are to work properly and take root, a greater knowledge about their remoter implications, including their effects outside the classroom, will be needed.

Among the elements which constitute a total system of learning are certain expectations about the responsibilities and rights of the people concerned. In particular, there are two long-established teacher-rights, often heroically described as "freedoms," which are perfectly appropriate within the oral, whole-class system and which the advent of elaborate new curricula cast into some doubt. One is the teacher's right to control the day-to-day content of his part of the total curriculum (within the generous limits applied variously by national or state authorities, the school management, and distant examinations). A second is his right to decide independently whether to participate in inservice training. These two teacher-rights have been challenged by the new curricula in ways we should examine, for the work of teacher centers has been affected by the teachers' reactions.

In the whole-class teaching system, a teacher is free to dispose what happens at any given time: he decides whether to lecture, to give a test, to read around the class, to go over individual corrections, to reward pupils with a rest period while he finishes the daily crossword. Within the broad outlines of a program for the year, he can decide the order of presentation of the topics that comprise the syllabus. He can select which topics he will deal with thoroughly and which he will skip through lightly. Such liberties reflect the fact that the essential vehicle of instruction from which pupils learn is the teacher's exposition. Of course, there is a textbook, but pupils and teacher know that the real business of learning in a whole-class teaching situation begins when the teacher starts to explain. The book on the desk is indeed a book of texts, of brief starting points for elaborate sermons; that, and a collection of exercises. In contrast, curriculum development teams have produced materials of a totally different order - far more detailed and often written and illustrated deliberately to encourage pupils to learn from them directly. The teacher is repeatedly assured that he is still the key figure; be that as it may, he can no longer function as a one-man band. At best, he is a conductor playing from a fully written score. While some teachers have welcomed this change of role, many have resisted it.

"Parallel," "Contributory," and "Supplementary" Curriculum Development

Resistance usually takes the simple form of rejecting the threatening materials. Sometimes, however, impressed by the quality of the materials but finding them in some way unsuitable, teachers have embarked on curriculum development paralleling that of central project teams, whether alone, with colleagues in their own school, or with like-minded teachers in the neighborhood. In this flowering of *parallel* curriculum development (which we shall later distinguish from *contributory* and *supplementary* curriculum development) teacher centers have played an important part, and some of the resulting products have been so good or have so accurately filled a need that a commercial publisher has printed and distributed them in substantial quantities.

Such dramatic successes should not, however, conceal the doubtful value of major curriculum development undertaken by full-time teachers. To record for the benefit of others what one has cheerfully expounded in the classroom these many

years sounds simple enough; in practice, writing proves an exacting discipline, revealing to oneself and one's colleagues the gaps and discontinuities that talk allows. And if the work extends to writing materials for pupils' direct use, it becomes a formidable task indeed. Nonetheless, we have all come across practicing teachers who manage on top of everything else to create extensive new curricular materials. Time spent in this way, however, means less time to counsel students, to prepare and correct written work, to help with extracurricular activities, or to attend to a garden, sweetheart, or wife, or whatever else keeps a teacher sane, year in, year out. Research would probably show that a large majority of practicing teachers active in parallel curriculum development stay single or become single again; and that those who refuse to let their personal lives suffer quickly become college lecturers, administrators, full-time project team members, officials in national organizations, and the like. There, like exhausted racehorses, they crop lusher pastures.

Besides the burdens borne by heroic teachers who embark on parallel curriculum development, we should bear in mind other sufferers. The teacher's freedom to create his own materials is not matched by any freedom on the part of his pupils to reject them. It is the pupils' lot in life to submit to whatever course is assigned. For them every course is external and imposed. Perhaps they may thrill only briefly to the news that this course was composed by teachers meeting in their own building or at a nearby center rather than by full-time writers far off in the Big Smoke. Ungratefully, they may even be more interested in the quality of the course than in its source.

Such doubts about wholesale parallel curriculum development do not extend to more modest local efforts. These include the adaptation to local needs of materials prepared by central development teams, addition to such materials, participation in "co-operatives" organized by some projects as the means for creating curricular materials,* and the pro-

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*A recent example of a project acting as an organizing center for materials contributed from a number of different centers is the Schools' Council's *Mathematics for the Majority - Continuation Project*. However, the concept and style has a remarkable antecedent in the Freinet "Co-operative" centered on Cannes in France.

duction of materials about the immediate environment. In short, localized curriculum development seems reasonable and justifiable when it adds a specifically local dimension which centrally produced materials cannot provide, or when it assumes a supplementary or contributory character in relation to some full-scale, central initiative. Local or school-based curriculum development of this restricted kind is also an admirable form of induction into the use of new curricular materials, the best focus for an active, participatory, and sustained kind of inservice education.

The advent of parallel curriculum development within a locality or school accentuates a problem which central curriculum development has already created. This problem only arises in relation to those subjects that we choose to teach at the secondary level in a cumulatively structured and highly sequential way, such as mathematics and foreign languages in most countries and natural science in some. In the past, variations in curriculum among schools and teachers were contained within a broad consensus about basic content and method. What happens when that consensus is abandoned and radically new courses appear which are more detailed and prescriptive than before? The New Math is worlds apart from the old; French taught orally results in a very different sequence of attainments when compared with French studied, as in the past, primarily to achieve fluency in reading and writing. Previously, a pupil whose parents moved might find that in physics, for example, his old school covered heat in the third year and light in the fourth, whereas his new school reversed the order. But how infinitely worse nowadays when his old school did traditional physics whereas his new one is committed to Nuffield physics, radically different both in content and approach. Generally, textbooks in widespread use achieved a certain similarity through time; the new courses have not. The proliferation of new-style curricular materials, combined with an insistence on the sovereign right of every school to choose freely among them, means that pupils pay a heavy tax in confusion each time their parents dare to move. In Britain, a recent survey has shown that one child in seven moves every year. There have been a few studies about the effects on pupils (minimal it seems) of a higher-than-normal turnover of teachers;* what is not

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*For example, a recent study of "educational turbulence" (i.e., frequent change of teachers) and its effects on children with parents in the Australian armed services.

yet known are the effects of a major curricular dislocation at a critical point in a pupil's academic career, especially in a sequential subject.

By intruding on the teacher's freedom to create and compile materials from which pupils in his classroom learn, central curriculum development has stimulated, in reaction, a good deal of localized parallel curriculum development. This has worsened the problem which central curriculum development has already created, namely the absence of curricular coherence among the schools which constitute the national system.

Implications for Inservice Education

This problem of curricular multiplicity and incoherence casts doubt, in relation to sequential subjects, on the cherished right of the teacher to decide, as an individual, whether or not to attend inservice courses. In the days of minor change within a broad consensus, inservice education was thought to be desirable but not essential. It could safely be left heretofore to individual interest and conscience. Is that now sufficient? What is at stake is not some personal reinvigoration or some minor adjustment to an established curriculum, but the effective adoption of a major change. Given that a particular change constitutes an improvement, it is the pupils who are deprived if their teacher fails to volunteer; and improvement or not, it is the pupils who will be confused if, in a period of increasing mobility, some teachers in some schools have adopted a new curriculum and others, elsewhere, have not.

Unfortunately, those teachers most likely to require thorough training before using new materials may well be numbered among those who see no need to volunteer. Again, at the secondary level, the teacher is usually part of a department or team. Although one individual may be a convert to an innovation, he cannot introduce it into his class unless his colleagues do likewise; unless they and the headmaster agree to make the contingent adjustments within the school; unless they, the headmaster, and any other authorities concerned agree to allocate the necessary resources. At all levels of the school system, but especially at the secondary level, a change cannot be made in isolation. It follows that the training of isolated individuals (however desirable for providing personal education or qualifications or promotion) is an uncertain means of bringing about a change in a school for the benefit of pupils. To that end, the whole group of teachers concerned must be retrained simultaneously.

Such considerations require a new attitude to inservice. To date, few of the countries active in curriculum development have acknowledged the need to provide inservice education for all teachers involved before a major change is launched in a school, still less for compulsory statewide or nationwide training. A notable exception is Sweden. There, extended multimedia inservice courses have preceded the adoption of major curricular changes in sequential subjects and in new methodologies.* To complement and extend this major initial effort, five school days a year have been set aside for regular inservice work, based in schools but supported both by central and local institutions. In most other OECD countries, the principal response to the radically changed curricular situation has been the establishment or expansion of teacher centers; but, these have continued to operate within the limits of the voluntary and individual approach traditionally applied to inservice education.

Changes in Content and Changes in Style

The teacher center, as an inservice strategy, is particularly effective in supporting some kinds of curricular changes and not others, and its limitations coincide with the differing status of curricular content in the primary and the secondary school. In recent years, primary education has been a battleground for two different theories of child learning polarized into two styles of teaching - "traditional" and "open." Beyond the battle of styles, however, lies a broad consensus about measurable objectives. The particular curricular content prescribed by a school or elected by children matters very little, because "content" is seen as the medium for acquiring basic learning skills, good learning habits, and appropriate attitudes. When a primary school child moves from one school to another, or on to post-primary schooling, the measurable element upon which his immediate future depends is his command of skills; knowledge of specified subject matter is seldom given any prominence. At the secondary level, however, the situation is critically different. Knowledge of content from the various disciplines assumes great

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*Such as the DELTA inservice education program for the introduction of "modern mathematics," and the JET program, to bring about a change in the teaching of English.

importance. If a pupil moves from school to school, or from secondary into higher education, his prospects depend not only on command of skills but on knowledge of prescribed content - on what he knows as well as on what he can do.

Now, earlier in this paper, we distinguished three levels of curriculum change: minor improvements within a slowly evolving consensus; "revolutionary" change affecting the content of a subject or discipline; and methodological change focused on learning style and classroom relationships. Major secondary school curriculum development has usually combined revolutions at the levels both of content and of style. Since, however, teachers cannot successfully be compelled to adopt an unfamiliar style of teaching, the whole new package, "content" included, has been considered a matter of individual choice. In reality, content can be "compelled," in the sense of being made uniform and binding. To introduce New Math in all schools, the Swedes, for example, applied just such uniformity of "content." Most other countries (some of which are hampered by constitutional complexities) have so far failed to replace the previous consensus about content with any apparatus to ensure minimal uniformity; they have drawn no distinction between parts of the curriculum where coherence in content matters and parts where diversity can and should be encouraged. The result has been some dramatic variations and discontinuities among schools, unsatisfactory for pupils, awkward for colleges and universities, and expensive in requiring a wide spectrum of matching inservice training.

A change in teaching style must be induced, not ordered, because it involves a change in beliefs and habits, not merely an addition of knowledge. A teacher requires time to grow in understanding and conviction and to work out the implications of the new style in his daily classroom practice. The extended, participatory, voluntary, and local inservice training offered by teacher centers suits such a change. For change in content, however, so personal and protracted an approach is not necessary; a prompt and general induction for all is often more sensible.

In sum, differences in the character of the curriculum at the primary and secondary levels determine how substantial a part teacher centers can play as agents of change. In subject areas where coherence among schools is desirable, the "retail" distribution of inservice training by teacher centers to volunteer customers is not enough; "wholesale" distribution, especially by the coordinated use of mass media, makes sense. In some key subjects at the secondary level, then, teacher centers provide only a subsidiary, though an important, inservice strategy. At the primary level, where diver-

sity of content is accepted and change in teaching style is the principal issue, teacher centers and voluntary inservice activities match the main need admirably.

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CHAPTER 7

INSTITUTIONALIZING A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: PROBLEMS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF TEACHER CENTERS

PAUL E. PETERSON

Successful social movements evolve through several stages. Initially, a new idea or new social objective is *promoted* by a small, relatively cohesive band of dedicated followers. As the idea becomes *popularized*, it captures the attention of less involved, more peripheral elements who redefine, diversify, and diffuse its objectives. As it is *institutionalized*, it is legitimized by authorities who systematize its relations with other social practices. Finally, the social movement becomes *routinized*, an incorporated part of the standard operating practices of the social system. Many of the features which motivated initial enthusiasts become, in more or less modified form, a stable part of social life.

Issues of governance are especially critical at the time of institutionalization. At this point, many claim they have the right to control the societal resources to be committed to so popular a cause. A concept that initially seemed a momentary aberration is about to become a regularized fixture in the social architecture. Putting it into place will disturb the appearance and perhaps even the social functioning of the building. Insuring that it fit with the other parts will attract the attention of designers, engineers, interior decorators, and even some carpenters and plumbers, all of whom have their own view of the proper relation between the new fixture and the larger social edifice. Decisions with respect to governance will fix the movement's place in the larger social structure. They will insure whether it undermines the system's very foundations, restores its interior

functioning, or becomes an ornamental lantern brightening a shabby corner.

Teacher centers have become a successful social movement. The core ideas to which teacher centers were linked challenged the notion that a single adult, instructing large numbers of similarly aged children, was the one and only way to organize a school. The open classroom, the integrated day, individually guided education, the non-age-graded classroom, and team teaching were among the numerous proposals for alternative ways of organizing learning experiences (Hapgood, 1975; Devaney and Thorn, 1975). Closely associated with these ideas, teacher centers were proposed as places where teachers could exchange information on innovative curriculum and methods of teaching, create new instructional materials, and unearth supplies not used in standard classrooms.

Issues of governance seem to have been secondary. Teachers met where they could, recruited whomever could find the time or resources to staff the center, and gathered together whenever their busy schedules permitted. Volunteers united behind a common cause -- developing alternative learning environments for children in changing schools. Relations to other societal institutions also seem to have evolved in a haphazard manner: connections with local authorities and universities were intermittent and various; funding came from small foundation grants and experimental programs mounted by innovative federal agencies; contacts with major teacher organizations were uneasy and infrequent.

The teacher center movement has since become a bandwagon. Indeed, the idea has become so popular it "is one of the hottest educational concepts on the scene today" (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974). Consequently, its purposes have been altered. The title itself only suggests a physical space, a place where teachers and others can gather together for any one of multiple purposes. Initially this title was applied to vehicles for promoting alternative school forms and developing curricular material appropriate to these alternatives. More recently, the only common purpose characteristic of centers "is to improve the quality of instruction that takes place in schools and classrooms" (Schmieder and Yarger, 1974). Almost any program of inservice education falls within such a broad definition of purpose; thus great variety in the goals and objectives of teacher centers can now be identified. For some, teacher centers continue to be mechanisms for disseminating alternatives to conventional classroom organization. For others, centers are institutional alternatives to research and development techniques for diffusing curricular reform and improvement. They are places where practices can

be improved from the bottom up, not the top down. For still others, teacher centers are resource centers where teachers can be more effectively exposed to new curricular materials, new hardware and software, and new educational technologies. Some see teacher centers as places where teachers can become effective researchers, places where teachers will follow Piaget's edict to become contributing members to the pedagogical sciences. And teacher centers have also been conceived as places where all members of the community - teachers, parents, children, and senior citizens - can join together for creative, mutual learning experiences.

Institutionalizing teacher centers follows closely upon such widespread popularization. Not only are states and localities establishing centers by the thousands, but Congress has authorized a nationwide program. Almost predictably, Congress has defined the purposes of these centers in the vaguest possible terms: to "develop and produce curricula designed to meet...educational needs... and [to] provide training to improve the skills of teachers" (*Public Law 94-482*, 1976). And it is this vagueness with which the teacher center concept has been institutionalized nationally which gives urgency to problems of governance.

Governing Inservice Education

By any definition, teacher centers are a form of inservice education. They provide opportunities for teachers to develop new attitudes or improved skills and capacities directly related to their work situation. Any proposal for governing the inservice training of teachers must be closely articulated with the governance of the work situation itself. For teachers to be trained under one set of political conditions and then to carry out the work for which they have been trained under another, perhaps competing, political order is hardly feasible. To think about issues of governance over teacher centers in the United States is thus to think about the political control of schools in our society more generally. Normatively, we cannot propose power over teacher centers that cannot be justifiably related to power over schooling. Empirically, we cannot expect power arrangements with respect to teacher centers to vary dramatically from other power arrangements in the educational world.

Specifically, plans for the governance of teacher centers must take into account two factors that have contrasting, perhaps competing, implications. First, teaching in our society has been defined as a profession, i.e., it is a specialized

role for which specific training and credentials are felt to be necessary. Second, this professional role is carried out within bureaucratic structures where role relationships are hierarchically organized, i.e., where recruitment, supervision, evaluation, and promotion are carried out by superiors. Moreover, the superiors themselves are agents of the state, which uses its compulsory powers to collect societal resources to sustain the practice of teaching. The professional life of the teacher is thus very much organized by the environment of the public bureaucracy within which his activities are conducted. Characteristically, discussions of teaching emphasize either the bureaucratic or the professional side to the teacher's role. When abstracted in their purest form, so do alternative models of the governance of inservice education.

Professional Model

A professional model for the governance of inservice training provides for self-governance. The defining characteristic of any profession is its control over a specialized body of knowledge to which the laity has only imperfect access. Entry into the profession must be controlled by its most skilled practitioners, and inservice training to improve the work of the practitioner must be in the hands of those who know what will improve its practice. Characteristically, the individual professional will himself know best what further training is necessary to improve his standing in the profession. Since his performance is judged by his peers and, to some extent, by his clients, the professional, who sees a direct relationship between his performance capacities and his professional standing (with its accompanying material and psychological rewards), will pursue the most effective inservice training available. To the extent that any inservice training is valuable for advancement in the profession, the professional will pay for the cost of that training in terms of his own time and money. Inservice training programs that command the respect and, therefore, the resources of professionals must be under the governance of the profession itself.

Purest examples of this form of inservice training are the programs and activities of professional associations. Under the governance of leading members of the profession, associations of professionals arrange opportunities for members to exchange ideas through panels, seminars, workshops, and, above all, through journals, newsletters, and book reviews. Individual members of the profession willingly contribute to their own inservice training because the rewards of partici-

pation clearly outweigh the costs. Indeed, many members find annual conventions the highlight of their professional year.

This example is noteworthy because the annual meeting comes closest to fulfilling the ideal which many in the teacher center movement most consistently espouse. Participation is voluntary. Knowledge, or at least information, is shared among rank-and-file members of the profession. Evaluation is by peers, not by superiors in any bureaucratic hierarchy. Participants choose freely among a wide variety of offerings. More than one might realize, learning occurs in the active mode: many attending a convention participate on a panel, raise questions from the audience, or at least discuss issues in bars and restaurants between conference sessions. The journey to a major urban center makes the event exciting and stimulating, just as exposure to materials in a center workshop may stimulate the newly involved teacher.

Teachers themselves hold state and national conventions that have many of the features of other professional associations. Yet this is not regarded as sufficient inservice training. Most teachers do not attend these meetings, nor are ingrained teaching methods altered by a few panel discussions. Ideas and approaches presented at conventions need reinforcing at the school level.

Many of the earliest and most exciting teacher centers nonetheless contained several of the voluntaristic characteristics of the professional association. To be sure, the inservice training they provided was more sustained and therefore more expensive. As a result, teachers themselves did not bear the full cost of the training. Foundation funds, grants from various experimental programs within federal agencies, and some innovative local educational agencies (LEAs) provided crucial support for housing and staffing the teacher centers. But teachers frequently donated materials and supplies, and, above all, they donated their own time. Teacher participation in centers was typically after school hours; involvement by the teacher was part of his professional commitment to new educational forms. The teacher did not seek immediate material rewards or academic credentials that would boost his position in the local salary schedule. The focus was on improved teaching and learning for its own sake. As Lore Rasmussen (1975) relates her experiences in Philadelphia:

> Most of the conversion of facilities from their bleak look of old, typically inner-city elementary schools to their new imaginatively redesigned spaces was done by the staff and parents themselves, largely through assistance by or in the Teachers Center. The

> raw materials were bought, found, or donated, and little money was expended on commercial products. Thus the developing rehabilitation of the building and program itself represents to all visitors from other schools and to the community the living proof of what a school can do on the grass roots level to change itself when it has an idea.

Governance of those early teacher centers, where participants were as motivated by intrinsic commitment to professional objectives, was a secondary question. The Philadelphia Center was part of the school system, but the energy and force which gave the center its life was in the immediate locality. Centers formed as part of the open classroom movement were *de facto* self-governing, whatever their formal obligations. Because teacher participation could be motivated only by intrinsic, professional rewards, centers could flourish only if they motivated teacher involvement. Whatever their auditing obligations, their survival as organizations in school and community rested on their local credibility.

The British teacher centers present a less pure, more complex version of the professional model of inservice education. Teacher centers developed as a concomitant of the Plowden report, the work of the Nuffield Foundation, the creation of comprehensive secondary schools, and the raising of the school-leaving age. The British Schools Council accelerated the formation of centers in recognition that teachers needed an informal gathering place if their curricular innovations were ever to be widely adopted. Even though teacher centers have been part of efforts for curricular reform, they have always been closely connected to the regular governing structures responsible for primary and secondary schooling. The formal governing arrangements of British teacher centers appear to have much in common with the bureaucratic model discussed below. But British traditions significantly modify formal organizational charts. In the first place, the British have always considered the teacher, especially the head teacher, as dedicated and learned. Intervention into school matters by uninformed lay groups or even the formally elected members of the borough council is regarded as disruptive, partisan intrusion into professional affairs (Peterson, 1973; Thornbury, 1974). Second, authority relations within the administrative staff of school systems are highly decentralized: headmasters and headmistresses are expected to take full responsibility for governing their own schools, and they are given lifetime tenure if they faithfully execute that responsibility.

Third, the largest of Britain's teacher organizations, the National Union of Teachers, has always taken professional issues most seriously. In part this is due to the fact that the NUT, as representative of the primary and secondary modern teachers, always campaigned for egalitarian reforms against the opposition of more traditional associations of grammar school teachers. As a result, the organization took almost as serious an interest in curricular questions as it did in questions of salaries and pensions. In this context, it was possible to create teacher centers oriented toward strictly teacher concerns, even in the context of formal LEA governance and control. Only after centers were established did colleges of further education complain about their exclusion from processes of inservice training.

In the United States, teacher centers operating according to professional models of governance could be accommodated within the larger educational system only because that system is a highly decentralized, loosely connected set of institutions. To be sure, centralizing and bureaucratizing currents have run strong in past decades, and most recent efforts to decentralize the largest of our big city school systems have had only passing success (Tyack, 1974; Ravitch, 1974). But in a system where funds for education are raised at three levels - federal, state, and local - and where there are countless local school boards, there remain cracks and openings where small-scale innovations can be explored. Especially in matters of curriculum, supervisor control is indirect and inconsistent, leaving islands of opportunity for teacher experimentation. Teacher centers have not been established at the behest of any centrally located decision maker; they have expanded through a network of informal ties and influences that cut across the formal hierarchies of the educational system. But once again, this lateral, nonhierarchical pattern of communication and adoption was possible only because the teacher centers were linked to larger movements of educational reform.

During the early stages of a social movement, informal networks can help establish teacher centers at interstitial points in a larger educational system. But processes of popularization and institutionalization force questions of governance to the fore. Even in Britain pressures to limit teacher direction of their centers increased as the innovation became institutionalized. Education officers and further education colleges have too much at stake to ignore the establishment of a major institution controlling processes of inservice education. And in the United States, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) hesitated

before supporting federal legislation authorizing centers. Moreover, popularization and institutionalization change the teacher clientele of the social movement. As the numbers of participating teachers increase, so do demands for release-time arrangements, academic credit for work in the center, and outright extra-service pay for participation in center activities. The intrinsic rewards that motivated early enthusiasts no longer suffice to motivate widespread participation; extrinsic rewards that make this form of inservice training financially advantageous become a goal of teacher organizations. But once these extrinsic rewards replace professional commitment to improving educational opportunities for children as the primary motivation, teachers lose much of their legitimate claim to control teacher centers. The more release time, credentials, and extra-service pay are used as incentives for teacher participation, the more the bureaucratic model for governing inservice education becomes applicable.

Bureaucratic Model

Most elementary and secondary teachers perform their work in public school systems where, at least formally, their work is evaluated by principals, who report to superintendents, who in turn report to boards of education. They are paid for their services by states and LEAs who use their compulsory powers to levy taxes on the citizens. Legitimacy for such coercive powers is secured in the United States by democratic processes, through which citizens elect school board members and state legislators. Monies collected through such compulsory powers must be allocated in such a way that control over expenditures remains in the hands of elected officials or their appointed administrators. Moreover, the state compels all children between specific ages to attend an accredited public school; because of the state's interest in the proper education of children, it must determine the qualifications, resources, and training for those entrusted with this educational responsibility.

In this context, teachers are expected to carry out their educational tasks in accord with the wishes of their supervisors, who are agents of elected authorities. They are paid salaries and benefits and given appropriate working conditions in return for carrying out duties assigned to them. The representatives of the state may decide it is in the public interest that teachers be asked to undertake inservice training to improve the quality of their performance. But the

judgment of what kind of inservice training is appropriate rests in the hands of boards of education and their administrative advisers. Although the board may make such inservice training a condition of employment, it may also choose to provide training as part of the work experience itself. It may provide the housing, staffing, and materials, and it may provide release time to develop the desired new capabilities. For example, many government agencies and private firms provide clerical staff with release time to learn to operate more advanced office equipment. Improved efficiency on the job more than compensates the firm for the retraining costs.

Most inservice training of elementary and secondary teachers has taken this form. For a few days each year, teachers are required to attend sessions sponsored by the local school. During this time, the teacher is expected to learn new procedures or new techniques that allow for improved performance. Very often this is an effective device for communicating to teachers those practices which specific principals and superintendents expect in particular school situations, i.e., behavior during fire drills, lunch periods, and on playgrounds. School officials have also required teachers to secure more sustained inservice training by taking further education courses as a condition of employment. In many states teachers can only renew their teaching certificates if they take a number of credit hours of advanced instruction every few years. Generally, these are taken at the same institutions of higher education where preservice training is offered.

Clearly, the trend in teacher center governance is moving from the professional to the bureaucratic model. What began as a social movement is becoming an institutionalized fixture of school architecture. Participation for intrinsic reasons as part of a larger reform drive is giving way to participation to improve credentials or secure time away from the classroom. Centers managed autonomously by *ad hoc* groups of teachers, who attracted the attention of experimentally minded foundations and government agencies, are being supplemented on a massive scale by centers organized by LEAs, colleges and universities, or some combination thereof. The conception of teacher centers as places for exchange among peers is giving way to consultation with specialists and experts.

Significantly, the one clear element in the Congressional legislation establishing teacher centers involves governing arrangements. First and foremost, the legislation requires that authority to direct a center be lodged in the hands of a local education agency. By itself, this provision of the law insures that school boards and administrators will

exercise operating control over the activities of teacher centers.

Contemporary institutional forms and legitimating concepts necessarily resolve issues of governance in these terms. All forms of education - elementary, secondary, and higher - are almost exclusively financed by the federal, state, or local governments. The formal definition of excellence in education remains a combination of years of schooling and experience. Universities and colleges have the authority to confer credentials upon practicing teachers. School administrators, acting on behalf of school boards, have the formal authority to direct the practice of teaching. And court decisions, designed to insure fairness and equality, provide for increasingly centralized supervision of educational practices. Teacher interests can be voiced within this hierarchical framework, but institutionalized teacher control over powerful centers of training cannot be anticipated.

Teacher Organizations and Teacher Centers

The American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association argue for teacher control of their own in-service education. Congress has recognized the power of these teacher groups by requiring that a majority of the representatives on the policy board of a teacher center be teachers from the area served by the center. Although the legislation implies that the LEA will have the responsibility for selecting these teachers, it does require that they "fairly reflect the make-up of all schoolteachers" in the area the center serves. The remainder of the board will include representatives from institutions of higher learning in the area and from other groups and agencies that the LEA deems appropriate.

At first glance, the governing arrangements appear to be an excellent compromise between the bureaucratic and the professional models. On the one side, the LEA has the formal responsibility to operate the center, recruit its board, select its staff, and account to the federal government for its expenditures. On the other side, the policy board, even while providing representation for a range of interests, insures majority representation of teachers and thereby insures continuation of professionally oriented concerns within the work of the center. Of course, it is premature to speculate on the way in which the compromise will work in practice, but governing arrangements for the proposed teacher centers seem to provide an arena for political bargaining among powerful interest groups rather than a satisfactory compromise between

the professional and bureaucratic models of governance (Lowi, 1969).

First, Congress states the purposes of teacher centers in hopelessly vague terms. The centers are expected to "develop and produce curricula designed to meet...educational needs" and to "provide training to improve the skills of teachers." Almost any activity within a center can be conducted under such vague authorization. Nothing explicit links teacher centers to the innovative educational concepts that originally animated the movement. But once the distinctive purposes of the teacher centers are stripped away, much of their vitality is also endangered. Here, as in other legislation, Congress has substituted process for policy. Instead of defining the goals of teacher centers, it has established a governing arrangement which is supposed to formulate center objectives.

Because objectives are vague and undefined, there is little basis for determining which individuals should assume governing responsibility for the centers. Teacher representatives are to "reflect the make-up of all school teachers," which means that some process of democratic selection must be instituted. In all likelihood, representatives will be directly selected by teacher organizations or by some low-visibility electoral process, in which the best organized elements of the teaching population will dominate outcomes. In either case, teacher center governors will consist of teachers who have been active in teacher organizations. By itself, this should not be condemned. But in contrast with Britain, the teacher center concept in the United States was developed independently of either the American Federation of Teachers or the National Education Association. Indeed, at the very time the teacher center movement was cutting across central institutions of governance and control in the society, teacher organizations were solidifying their power at national and state levels. Moreover, these organizations, with their mass memberships, must be concerned with issues vital to the average teacher, not the highly committed professional reformer who enthusiastically promoted teacher centers. They must therefore concentrate on those extrinsic benefits which can be achieved for teachers as a concomitant of establishing teacher centers. If teacher organizations are to serve effectively the immediate concerns of their constituents, they will concentrate on issues of release time, credentials, and extra-service pay.

The other participants in the policymaking board will have their interests to protect. Although the AACTE will probably support teacher centers, it will continue to argue that credentials can be provided only if qualified instructors are

available - and they will probably claim that only colleges contain qualified instructors. Local authorities will attempt to protect their declining resources by limiting the size of any release-time program and salary increments that teachers can earn as a result of participation. Negotiated compromises with which all can live but with which none is perfectly satisfied will be the likely outcome. It is doubtful that Congress will have achieved an innovative approach to inservice training by turning over the responsibility for making policy to a committee of interest groups.

Conclusions

Once a social movement has been institutionalized, its program and objectives rapidly become routinized. A plan for major social change becomes a structure competing with others for limited resources. The need to maintain the organization replaces single-minded pursuit of substantive goals. A broad range of interests are all accommodated so that the organization can survive in a continuously threatening, changing environment. The founders are replaced by bureaucrats who may be less emotionally involved but who direct the institution (for now it really is an institution) with efficiency and dispatch.

The early literature on teacher centers is filled with enthusiasm, dedication, and excitement. One also gets the sense that there were confusion, disorganization, and many false starts. A bewildering array of groups and acronyms sponsored and directed these enterprises. All this is slowly being replaced by programs established by state departments of education whose proposals are influenced by the National Educational Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the AACTE, the U. S. Office of Education, and local boards of education. The power relations among these institutions will be satisfactorily resolved after a period of negotiation and compromise. Something of the core idea will remain. But more would have remained had the national effort in this regard involved Congressional promulgation of a policy for teacher centers, not simply a plan for processing policy by competing interest groups.

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CHAPTER 8

REFLECTIONS ON EVALUATING TEACHER CENTERS: THE VIEW FROM AN IRON COW

MICHAEL Q. PATTON

"What is the sound of one hand clapping?" This question or riddle was first posed by the Japanese Zen Master Hakuin (1686-1769) as a means of facilitating enlightenment. "The disciple, given a Koan (riddle) to see through, was encouraged to put his whole strength into the singleminded search for its solution, to be 'like a thirsty rat seeking for water...,' to carry the problem with him everywhere, until suddenly, if he were successful, the solution came" (Hoffman, 1975, p. 22).

The Koan was a technique originated by the Zen masters to help shake their students out of routine ways of thinking and acting, to open up new possibilities, and to help the individual student realize his full potential. In many ways, the master teacher in a teacher center is engaged in these same processes, helping classroom teachers investigate for themselves different ways of thinking, acting, teaching, and learning. From my perspective, evaluation is yet another way of serving this same function with respect to program staff. The evaluation assists program staff to stand outside themselves and look at what they're doing; evaluations can shake staff out of routine ways of doing things, open up new possibilities, and help staff members realize their full potential.

The starting point in the evaluative process is asking the right questions. A basic tenet of the Koan educational method is that *the question is as important as the answer*. This paper will focus on evaluation questions for teacher centers. The answers to these questions may be as simple or as complex as the answer to any given Zen Koan.

A Flower in Bloom

> A monk asked Master Ummon, "What is the pure body of truth?"
> Master Ummon said, "A flower in bloom."
> Monk: "'A flower in bloom' - what's it mean?"
> Master: "Maggots in the shit hole, pus of leprosy, scab over a boil" (Hoffman, 1975, p. 119).

Without monk apprentices asking "what's it mean?" there would have been no Zen master in this eighteenth century Oriental version of a teacher center interaction. "What's it mean?" may be a philosophical, religious, or epistemological question. It can also be the very concrete, practical question of researchers or program staff poring over pages of statistical tables and reams of computer printout generated by an evaluation study.

Consider a real example from some of the data collected during the 1973-74 evaluation of the pilot teacher centers conducted for the U. S. Office of Education. Among educators interviewed in Rhode Island:

> 27 percent of the total sample indicated that they had participated in from one to eight different inservice training sessions sponsored by the RITC. This included 78 percent of the superintendents, 39 percent of the administrators, 1 percent of the secondary school teachers and 22 percent of the elementary school teachers sampled. About 40 percent of the respondents reported that they received graduate credit for their time. The participants generally said that the training met their needs, but 60 percent indicated that this need still existed after the training session (Covert, *et al.*, 1974, p. 22).

What's it mean? The answer to that question would seem to depend on *who* is interpreting the data. For some the data may indicate "a flower in bloom"; for others it may mean "maggots in the shit holes"; and for Master Ummon it might mean both.

Sharon Feiman, in commenting on the report cited above, takes issue with the conclusion that "inservice training was made more relevant and current" based only on evidence that "training was offered in a wide variety of innovative programs." She questions the assumption that "new is better" and that "exposure brings improvement." She goes on to say: "Without descriptions of actual training activities, analyses of what specific needs they addressed, and more precise

definitions of their effects, it is hard to interpret the findings in this evaluation" (Feiman, 1977).

It is hard for Feiman to interpret the data because she has a different set of questions from those answered in the cited research. But a simple syllogism may make the data quite interpretable for others:

> Participation in training sessions *is* improvement.
> Twenty-seven percent participated in training.
> Twenty-seven percent are improved.

Perhaps this is a poor definition of improvement, but in *whose* opinion?

I showed the paragraph from the pilot teacher center evaluation to a graduate student and asked, "What's it mean?" The student replied: "Forty percent of the respondents got graduate credit for their time. It means taxpayers are getting ripped off to raise the credentials of teachers so they'll get higher salaries - under the guise of teacher improvement."

This long discourse on the perception of flowers versus maggots is not aimed simply at making the point that different people perceive things differently. I take that to be a truism. The point is that this truism is regularly and consistently ignored in the design of evaluation studies. Laboring under the assumptions of positivistic social science, we pretend that there is some body of data out there that has only to be collected, at which point we will know what it all means, whether or not it works, whether or not we're successful, whether or not we're effective. Such data simply do not exist outside the context of a specific group of people with a particular perspective.

This truism about differential perceptions has enormous implications for evaluation. It means that instead of beginning with the traditional first question in evaluation textbooks - "What are the program's goals?" - we must begin by asking, "*Whose* goals for the program will be evaluated?" Instead of asking "what's it mean?" we must ask, "*Who* is going to decide what it means?" Before exploring the implications of this perspective, let me try to make the point a different way.

Hunting Bears

Zen Koans are one educational technique for helping the learner look at the world in a different way. Another technique that has emerged over time through journeys into and out of a variety of rich cultural traditions is the Sufi story. Sufi stories, particularly stories about the adventures and follies

of the incomparable Mulla (Master) Nasrudin, are a means of communicating ancient wisdom. "Nasrudin is the classical figure devised by the dervishes partly for the purpose of halting for a moment situations in which certain states of mind are made clear.... Since Sufism is something which is lived as well as something which is perceived, a Nasrudin tale cannot in itself produce complete enlightenment. On the other hand, it bridges the gap between mundane life and a transmutation of consciousness in a manner which no other literary form yet produced has been able to attain" (Shah, 1964, p.56). What, then, can we learn from Nasrudin about evaluation of teacher centers? Let's try the parable about hunting bears (Shah, 1964, p. 61).

> A king who enjoyed Nasrudin's company, and also liked to hunt, commanded him to accompany him on a bear hunt. Nasrudin was terrified.
>
> When Nasrudin returned to his village, someone asked him: "How did the hunt go?"
>
> "Marvelously!"
>
> "How many bears did you see?"
>
> "None."
>
> "How could it have gone marvelously, then?"
>
> "When you are hunting bears, and you are me, seeing no bears at all *is* a marvelous experience."

Permit me to translate this tale into modern language. The evaluation on the king's hunt might read something like this:

EVALUATION OF THE BEAR PROJECT

This is a study undertaken for His Majesty's Ministry of the Interior, under the auspices of the Department of Natural Resources, for the Division of Parks, Section on Hunting, Office of Bears. This is a study of the relationship between the number of bears sighted on a hunt and the number of bears shot on a hunt. Our hypothesis is that there is a direct, linear relationship between the sighting of bears and killing of bears. The data were collected on a recent royal hunting expedition. The sample size is therefore somewhat small and generalizations cannot be made with confidence. In effect this is an exploratory case study, Campbell and Stanley Research Design No. 1.

The data support the hypothesis at the 0.001 level of significance. Indeed, the correlation is perfect. The number of bears sighted was zero, and the number of bears killed was zero. In no case was a bear killed

without first being sighted. We therefore recommend that in future projects new Royal regulations be implemented requiring that bears first be sighted before they are killed.

Respectfully submitted,

The Incomparable Mulla Nasrudin
Royal Evaluator

While this evaluation report may be statistically somewhat less rigorous than the average evaluation study, it shares one major characteristic with almost all other reports of this genre. It is impossible to tell whether it answers anyone's question. *Who* decided that the outcome should be the number of bears killed? Perhaps the project staff simply use the hunt as a format for getting royal (federal) money to conduct field trips. *The real outcome* may be a heightened sensitivity to nature, or a closer relationship between Nasrudin and the king, or a reduction of Nasrudin's fear of bears, or an increase in the king's power over Nasrudin. It may even be possible (likely!) that different characters in the situation have different objectives and would like different measures of outcome. If so, it seems unlikely that all characters will be interested in the same evaluation data. *Who* will decide what it all means? For Nasrudin the data indicated a "marvelous" outcome. Other decision makers might read the data differently.

Utilization of Evaluation Research

This emphasis on determining who the evaluation will serve as the first step in the evaluation process derives from a personal bias that evaluations ought to be useful - they ought to have an impact on what people think, plan, and do. In 1973, this bias led me to get involved in a study of the factors that affect the utilization of evaluation research. We studied the utilization of twenty federal health evaluations by interviewing the principal program person, evaluator, and project officer in each case (Patton, *et al.*, 1977). In attempting to identify the factors that affect utilization of evaluation findings, we asked respondents to comment on the relevance and importance of eleven factors extracted from the literature on utilization:

> methological quality, methodological appropriateness, timeliness, lateness of report, positive-negative findings, surprise of findings, central-peripheral program objectives evaluated, presence-absence of related studies, political factors, government-evaluator interactions, and resources available for the study.

Finally, we asked respondents to "pick out the single factor you feel had the greatest effect on how this study was used."

Two related factors emerged as important in our interviews: political considerations and the "personal factor." This latter factor was unexpected, and its clear importance to our respondents has substantial implications for the utilization of evaluation research. *None of the other nine factors we asked about was consistently seen to be important.*

The personal factor emerged most dramatically in our interviews. Having asked respondents to comment on the importance of each of our eleven utilization factors, we then asked them to identify the single factor that was most important in explaining the impact or lack of impact of the particular study. Time after time, the factor they identified was not on our list. Rather, they responded in terms of the importance of individual people. For lack of a better term, we have simply called this new variable the personal factor. It is made up of equal parts of leadership, interest, enthusiasm, determination, commitment, aggressiveness, and caring. Where the personal factor emerges, evaluations have an impact; where it is absent, there is a marked absence of impact.

Comments from one study with an unusually high level of utilization are illustrative (Patton, *et al.*, 1977, p. 157-58). The decision maker was asked why this particular study had so much impact. His answer was brief and to the point:

> Well, (the evaluation had an impact) because we designed the project with an evaluation component in it, so we were expected to use it and we did.... Not just the fact that (evaluation) was built in, but the fact that we built it in *on purpose*. That is, the agency head and myself had broad responsibilities for this, wanted the evaluation study results and we expected to use them. Therefore they were used. That's my point. *If someone else had built it in because they thought it was needed, and we didn't care, I'm sure the use of the study results would have been different.*

The evaluator (an external agent selected through an open RFP* process), completely agreed:

> The principal reason (for utilization) was because the decision maker was the guy who requested the evaluation and who used its results. That is, the organizational distance between the policy maker and the evaluator was almost zero in this instance. That's the most important reason it had an impact.

What emerges here is a picture of a decision maker who knew what information he wanted, an evaluator committed to answering the decision maker's question, and a decision maker committed to using that information. The result was a high level of utilization in making a decision contrary to the decision maker's initial personal hopes. This point was made often in the interviews. One highly placed and highly experienced administrator from yet a different project offered the following advice at the end of a four-hour interview:

> Win over the program people. Make sure you're hooked into the person who's going to make the decision in six months from the time you're doing the study, and make sure that he feels it's his study, that these are his ideas, and that it's focused on his values....

The message here is in two parts. First, evaluators cannot conduct useful studies unless they know whose question they are answering, and second, program people have a right and an obligation to participate in the entire evaluative process from design to interpretation. In some cases such participation means making unusual demands that extend beyond the experiences of most evaluators. In 1972, the teacher training program at the New School for Behavioral Studies in Education, University of North Dakota, was to be evaluated as part of a U. S. Office of Education study. Dean Vito Perrone argued that the study as designed would be useless to the New School. He talked the Office of Education people into allowing him to spend the New School's portion of evaluation money on a locally designed and locally conducted study. The subsequent evaluation was entirely staff-designed, and it produced instruments and data that have become an integral part of the North Dakota

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*Request for Proposals, issued to the interested public by a government agency. The proposals are normally judged by peer review.

program. The national study produced large volumes of numbers (with blanks entered on the lines for North Dakota) and, as far as I can tell, was of no particular use to anyone.

Contemplate, then, the usefulness of evaluation research. Begin the evaluative process by asking: Who is this study for? Whose question will be answered? Begin by contemplating the usefulness of what to whom. And if you can't answer that initial question in terms of real people with real questions, leave the evaluation and contemplate a Zen Koan; for example, the Koan on snow: "Where do all these lovely snowflakes fall, anyway? Do they fall in any particular place?"

Progress Versus Change

One of the purposes of evaluation research, for some the major purpose, is to tell us whether or not we're getting where we want to be. In the preceding pages I've suggested that different people involved in the same program may want to get to different places. Various people will interpret data about where we are in different ways. For many the issue centers on the question of *improvement*. Are things improving? Are teachers improving? Are children doing better? These may well be the central questions in an evaluation of teacher centers. In a paper on teacher centers Kathleen Devaney argues that assessment of program effectiveness "will have to be in terms of verifying individual teachers' *improvement* in classroom performance over time..." (Devaney, 1977, p. 7, italics mine).

Let me suggest that for teacher center evaluations it may be important to separate the issue of improvement from the related, but quite different, issue of impact or change. Improvement involves a judgment about whether or not something is better. Impact involves the more limited question of whether or not something is different. An observed difference may or may not constitute improvement depending on who is making the value judgment about whether a change is for better or worse. It is crucial throughout the evaluation process that empirical observations about program impact be separated from judgments about whether such impact constitutes improvement.

Suppose a teacher center conducts a series of workshops on the use of resources outside the classroom. As a result, a group of teachers increases the time students spend in the community by an average of three hours a week. The time spent outside the classroom leads to an average reduction of one

hour per week in time spent in class work on reading and arithmetic. Outside the classroom the students are exposed to a variety of activities and opportunities, but the time spent on supervised reading and arithmetic is reduced. Clearly the teacher center has had an impact. Change has occurred. But have the teachers "improved"? The answer to that question depends on how much one values supervised reading and arithmatic compared with other stimulating activities.

A Sufi story (Shah, 1964, p. 58-59) illustrates quite nicely the problem of determining whether or not improvement has occurred. The setting is a teahouse, a Sufi term for a meeting place of dervishes. A monk enters and states:

> "My master taught me to spread the word that mankind will never be fulfilled until the man who has *not* been wronged is as indignant about a wrong as the man who actually *has* been wronged."
>
> The assembly is momentarily impressed. Then Nasrudin speaks:
>
> "My master taught *me* that nobody at all should become indignant about anything until he is sure that what he thinks is a wrong is in fact a wrong - and not a blessing in disguise!"

Questions of right and wrong, better or worse, are not simple empirical questions. To formulate evaluation questions solely in such terms can sabotage an evaluation from the beginning. What then can one do? In my judgment, the *empirical* question is not improvement but change. I suggest that we begin *not* with the question of whether teachers are "better," but whether they are *different*. Has the program been effective in changing teachers? Do they think differently? Can they do things now that they couldn't do before? Do they feel differently? Are different things occurring in teachers' classrooms? These are empirical evaluation questions. Data from these evaluation questions can then be used to determine whether or not such changes and differences constitute progress or improvement.

This is not an esoteric, semantic distinction. Nor is it the beginning of a polemic on value-free social science. It is a practical suggestion for distinguishing between that which can be observed (by whatever methods) and that which cannot be observed. Failure to make that distinction can lead to serious misunderstandings and miscommunications throughout the evaluation process.

What, then, can be observed? There are essentially five categories* of changes in teachers one might investigate:

- Changes in teachers' feelings (morale, support, enthusiasm, isolation)
- Changes in teachers' opinions (interpretations, attitudes, expectations, goals)
- Changes in teachers' knowledge (facts, data, theories, models)
- Changes in teachers' skills (things they can do)
- Changes in teachers' behavior (things teachers actually do in teaching)

A particular teacher center might focus on any or all of these types of changes. Programs typically vary considerably in degree of emphasis on different outcomes. A comprehensive evaluation might well look at all these outcomes. For some educators "improvement" *only* occurs if teacher behavior changes; for others, changes in teachers' feelings constitute sufficient improvement to justify a program. Many educators see changes as a sequence: knowledge change (new information), then attitude change (new understandings), then skill change (new capacity), then behavior change (new actions). Where in this chain does *real* improvement begin? Devaney (1977, p. 7) quotes one educator to the effect that:

> The key to opening people to change is attitude, not information and skills. I can distill into ten pages what I think a teacher needs [in order] to teach reading. But before that, teachers must get a set of basic attitudes - how language is viewed, how reading is viewed. Attitudes are the crucial foundation that makes it possible to assimilate new skills.

By carefully specifying the changes that staff want to observe in teachers as a result of teacher center activities, program staff can clarify and make explicit what *they* mean by "improvement." The next task is to determine what different levels of change indicate about the program. If fifty-five percent of the teachers in a workshop actually use a set of materials in their classroom, is that high usage or low usage? Does that mean the workshop was effective or

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*These categories correspond to the five elements of awareness identified by Nunnally, *et al.*, 1970.

ineffective? The workshop had an impact, but what level of impact is desirable? What level is acceptable? And what level spells trouble? These issues should be resolved *before* the data are collected so that the discussion about what constitutes improvement can take place in an atmosphere that is not charged with defensiveness, rationalization, and justification.

Suppose you are collecting data on frequency of individual visits as did Feiman (1975, p. 19-21). Her data can be grouped as in Table 1.

Table 1

Number of Visits Made by a Teacher to the Center	Number of Visits	% of Total Visitors
1 - 2	185	80.4%
3 or more	45	19.6%

I don't know how staff reacted to these findings. My guess is that once these data are collected the program staff might look at them and say, "Oh, yes, that's about what we've anticipated. Plus the data don't include people who come to regular workshops and special classes. Then, too, 'since only 23 teachers noted on the background forms that they first visited the Center during the period of observation, it is not likely that most of the people who came once were first-time visitors.' And the observation time was really too short. Plus January and February are bad months, you know, everyone is depressed with winter, and...." Soon it becomes apparent that either the data don't tell us much, at least not without other data, or that staff aren't prepared to deal with what the data do suggest. This is not at all unusual as a post-evaluation scenario.

Now let us try another scenario. At the outset of the evaluation study, the program staff discuss their notions of what their task is and how teacher change occurs. The staff decide that the kind of impact they want to have cannot occur in one or two visits to the teacher center. "If teachers don't return after one or two visits we must be doing something wrong." The period of time in question is a full twelve-month period. *Before* the data are collected the staff complete Table 2.

Table 2

Interpretation of data	Percentage of teachers who have contact with the Center three or more times
We're doing an outstanding job of engaging teachers at this level	51 - 75%
We're doing an adequate job of engaging teachers at this level	26 - 50%
We're doing a poor job of engaging teachers at this level	0 - 25%

A record-keeping system must then be established which staff agree to and believe in so that the data have credibility. The teacher center staff have committed themselves to actively engaging teachers on a multiple-contact basis. The data will provide clear feedback about the effectiveness of the program. The key point is that if staff are unwilling or unable, or both, to interpret data and set expectancy levels *before* the evaluation, there is no reason to believe they can do so after the evaluation. In addition, going through this process ahead of time alerts participants to additional data they need in order to make sense of the evaluation; clearly one table on frequency of visits is only a starting place. Finally, involving staff in such a process helps clarify the evaluation criteria that are being used. Furthermore, if staff are involved in establishing these criteria themselves, the evaluative process will increase their commitment to use the data to improve the program.

If multiple contacts with teachers are a key issue for center staff they would probably want to conduct follow-up interviews with teachers who didn't return and teachers who did return. What was the difference? There are many possibilities for extending this example. *The point is that the evaluation question must be carefully formulated in accordance with the basic goals of the teacher center; staff are involved in establishing explicit criteria for interpreting the data, and staff commit themselves to taking the process seriously.*

Many of the most serious conflicts in evaluation research

are rooted in the failure to specify clearly criteria in advance of data collection. This can lead to collection of the wrong data and intense disagreement about the standards for interpreting data already collected. Without explicit criteria data can be interpreted to mean almost anything about the program - and about the quality of teacher center staff. Witness, for example, Master Obaku's famous evaluation of the staff in eighteenth-century Chinese teacher centers (Hoffman, 1975, p. 128-29):

> Master Obaku said, "You are all leftover eaters! If you walk around the world and search for truth in such a manner, what achievement can you expect? Do you know that there are no more Zen masters in China?"
>
> Then a monk stepped out and said, "Aren't there those who walk around earnestly instructing the masses? What of them?"
>
> Obaku said, "I did not say there is no Zen anymore, only that there are no great masters."

The Outcomes of Individualization

Feiman (1977) reports that many teacher center programs advocate individualization in the belief that "teachers must be allowed to begin at their own beginnings, draw on personal strengths, and learn at their own pace." This creates special problems in evaluating the outcomes of teacher center experiences, particularly in interpreting varying levels of change in order to make interpretations about improvement. Measuring improvement for evaluation purposes turns out to be a very tricky problem. The first problem is determining the level at which learners enter the situation. Then, for any given area of knowledge or skill, there are upper limits of competency. One can't show improvement indefinitely. It is well established that learning occurs most rapidly and in greatest amount in a person who is just beginning to study a new subject. The reason is simply that there is more to learn at the beginning. After a time, percentage gains decline. Persons who have never driven a car can improve their skills 100%; persons who have driven for years may only be able to show a small percentage gain after further instruction. How can the large percentage gains in a program of novices be compared with the small percentage gains in a program of experts? And teacher centers include both!

An individualized teacher center program requires an

individualized set of evaluative criteria that takes into consideration where a teacher begins, what the teacher wants and needs, and what changes occur after the experience. This may mean that a careful system of descriptive records must be maintained for teacher center participants (or a sample thereof) not unlike the record-keeping systems developed by Pat Careny (1975) to observe changes in students over time. Such a system permits the recording of some types of information about all teachers and collection of systematic data on the individual development of each teacher. Such records serve program advisers for purposes of both planning *and* evaluation.

The point here is that an evaluation system is worthless if it collects data about the wrong things. Observing changes in a highly individualized program means monitoring and describing different changes in different individuals and then looking for overall patterns of teacher change and learner activity. One evaluation report on a teacher workshop program tried to solve the problem by simply asking teachers how many of them felt they had changed as a result of their workshop experience. Seventy-six percent said they had changed. But no data were collected on how they changed or what activities led to the change. In terms of actual program planning and improvement the data weren't very useful.

An oft-repeated Sufi story (Shah, 1964, p. 59) illustrates the importance of observing and collecting data on the right thing.

> Nasrudin used to take his donkey across a frontier every day, with the panniers loaded with straw. Since he admitted to being a smuggler when he trudged home every night, the frontier guards searched him again and again. They searched his person, sifted the straw, steeped it in water, even burned it from time to time. Meanwhile he was becoming visibly more and more prosperous.
>
> Then he retired and went to live in another country. Here one of the customs officers met him, years later.
>
> "You can tell me now, Nasrudin," he said. "Whatever *was* it that you were smuggling, when we could never catch you out?"
>
> "Donkeys," said Nasrudin.

The One True Way

Enlightenment is the goal in Buddhism. Koans and Sufi stories are only two of many techniques for assisting the learner along the path toward Enlightenment, "the shattering of the Great Doubt..., the welling up of a flood of exaltation. 'If you take up one Koan,' Master Hakuin said, 'and investigate it unceasingly, your mind will die and your will will be destroyed. It is as though a vast, empty abyss lay before you, with no place to set your hands and feet. You face death and your bosom feels as though it were fire. Then suddenly you are one with the Koan, and body and mind are cast off.... You must push forward relentlessly, and with the help of this complete concentration you will penetrate without fail to the basic source of your own nature'" (Hoffman, 1975, p. 22-23).

The Koans were a method for attaining Enlightenment, but they were also an evaluation tool for detecting Enlightenment. There are correct responses and incorrect responses to the master's Koanic question, "What is the sound of one hand clapping?" There are close to two thousand recorded Koans - complete sequences of questions and enlightened responses (Hoffman, 1975, p. 39). Koans are supposed to be passed on in secret from master to disciple, "transmitted only by word of mouth to the student in the master's room" (Miura and Sasaki, 1965, p. 28). The pupil vows to keep the Koans a secret and to transmit them only to chosen disciples after he has become a Zen master.

Koans were first published under a pseudonym by a rebel Zen master who had become disenchanted with his fellow masters. The publication created an enormous scandal because once the Koans were made public anyone could supposedly memorize the correct responses. Therefore, *anyone* could become a Zen master. How, then, was one to tell the truly enlightened from the fakes? Meanwhile, the rebel master maintained that monks were already mindlessly repeating Koans without being truly enlightened (Hoffman, 1975, p. 39-44).

The Koans themselves emerged out of a debate over whether Enlightenment came from passive meditation or a more active searching with the mind. Other Zen monastic retreats disagree over whether Enlightenment comes slowly over time or quickly, all at once. Of such issues are sects created, each teaching *the* One True Way. Western social scientists would scoff at such religious absolutism and, under the enlightenment provided by cultural relativism, would explain in great depth why each culture deceives itself with its own version of Truth. These same social scientists will then design an educational experiment to determine *the one best way* to

teach students that there is no one best way to attain Enlightenment.

After reading Feiman's (1977) characterization of teacher center programs in terms of three orientations, I immediately had a vision of some researcher writing a proposal that would be enthusiastically funded by the National Institute of Education to determine which of the three models was *most* effective in changing teachers. This despite the fact that every large-scale experiment of this kind (witness the National Follow Through evaluation) has found within-group variation greater than between-group variation, i. e., the "experiment" fails to identify a single best "treatment."

But the search goes on. Educational programs are compared with each other using standardized criteria despite the fact that different programs are trying to do different things. Such comparisons are particularly insidious because they subtly divert program staff from their original goals. Let me illustrate the problem using Feiman's paper.

Feiman describes three types of teacher centers according to their programmatic orientation: "behavioral" centers, "humanistic" centers, and "developmental" centers. I apologize for the injustice done to her paper by Table 3, but this table represents a simplified summary of my understanding of the differences among the three models.

Table 3

Center Orientation	Primary Process of Affecting Teachers	Primary Outcomes of the Process
Behavioral	Curriculum specialists directly and formally instruct administrators and teachers	Adoption of comprehensive curriculum systems, methods, and packages by teachers
Humanistic	Informal, nondirected teacher exploration; "teachers select their own treatment."	Teachers feel supported and important; pick up concrete and practical ideas and materials for immediate use in their classrooms.
Developmental	Advisers establish warm, interpersonal, and directive relationships with teachers, working with them over time.	Teachers' thinking about what they do and why is changed over time; teacher personal development.

Regardless of whether one agrees with Feiman's categories, it is clear that, at least to some extent, different teacher centers are trying to accomplish different outcomes. The three models cannot be compared to determine which one is best or most effective because they are trying to do different things. Evaluation can help determine whether or not each of the outcomes has been attained for each specific program, but evaluation cannot determine which outcome is most desirable or which outcome is "best."

Moreover, it is important to distinguish clearly between the *outcomes* desired and the *process* used to attain those outcomes. Another Sufi story (Shah, 1964, p. 79-80) illustrates the importance of understanding this difference.

> The incomparable Mulla Nasrudin is visited by a would-be disciple. The man, after many vicissitudes, arrives at the hut on the mountain where the Mulla is sitting. Knowing that every single action of the illuminated Sufi is meaningful, the newcomer asks Nasrudin why he is blowing on his hands. "To warm myself in the cold, of course."
>
> Shortly afterward, Nasrudin pours out two bowls of soup, and blows on his own. "Why are you doing that, Master?" asks the disciple. "To cool it, of course," says the teacher.
>
> At this point the disciple leaves Nasrudin, unable to trust any longer a man who uses the same process to arrive at different results - heat and cold.

A comprehensive evaluation will gather information about both process and outcomes. Indeed, the processes identified by a local teacher center staff as those they desire to employ in their work constitute a set of program implementation goals. Evaluators refer to the study of factors affecting program implementation as "process evaluation." Feiman's (1975) study of the Teacher Curriculum Work Center is a process evaluation. She studied what teachers did at the Center, i.e., the processes whereby they obtain support, ideas, and materials; she did not study whether teachers actually changed what they did in the classroom. Such process studies can be extremely valuable for they provide staff with information about whether or not the program is being implemented as desired.

Just as it is inappropriate to compare teacher centers which aim at different outcomes, it is also inappropriate to compare the teacher center approach to educational inservice with other school-based or university-based approaches to teacher inservice. To do so is once again to search for *The*

One True Way in a world where different approaches work differently for different people. Each approach must be empirically evaluated in its own terms; the decision about whether the goals of a particular approach are desirable is a political question.

From whence cometh this evaluation preoccupation with identifying the *one* best approach to a problem? From the earliest days of my social science training, I was taught that the aim of social science was to find that one set of variables that would allow us to perfectly predict human behavior. I was taught that the problem of perfectly predicting human vehavior was largely a problem of measurement. If we only had complete data on a person or group of people we could predict with near certainty the behaviors, attitudes, and inner workings of that person or group. The equations never quite worked out, but that was because of "measurement error," problems with "variable specification," and, of course, the unfortunate fact that there will always be a few deviants around to screw up our predictions.

This positivistic perspective has had an important effect on governmental policymaking and on research funding, especially evaluation and policy research. Legislators would like to find the *one* solution, so they mandate research to tell them the answer - the one answer - to education, health, welfare, human relations, bureaucracy.... Which educational model is best? What's the one best way to organize government? Which one program approach is most effective in reducing crime and rehabilitating criminals?

The truth is that there is no one best program approach across the board for the same reason that there is no single factor or set of factors that can solve the mystery of human behavior, no one answer to that most fundamental philosophical question: Why do people do what they do? (And that most fundamental governmental question: How do we get people to do what we want them to do?)

The reason is that individual people are different from each other in unique ways, and those unique individual characteristics make a difference in what people do and how they respond to programs. From the structuralist perspective that dominates social science, individual people do *not* make a difference. We learn in introductory sociology that the major characteristic of modern society as a rational system is the interchangeability of people in positions. It doesn't matter who is President; the position is determined by large-scale, long-term, socio-political-economic factors that are not subject to personal manipulation. It doesn't matter who the bureaucrat is in the welfare office; it matters only that

someone, anyone, fill the position. It doesn't matter who runs an educational program, the trick is to *structure* the program effectively.

But it's just not so. The prediction equations for human behavior don't work perfectly because human behavior is not perfectly predictable. After the last of background variables, demographic factors, and structural influences have been measured and entered into the equations, the accuracy of the predictions are downright puny. Freedom of individual action, personal predilections and choice, unique circumstances, and the fundamental individuality of human beings win the day.

In educational research we keep discovering that what makes the difference is the enthusiasm and dedication of individual teachers, not some theoretical model of instruction. In therapy and counseling what matters is the sincerity and caring of one individual trying to help another, not the psychotherapeutic method employed. In program after program I find that the abilities, personalities, and dedication of the people who run and staff programs make the major difference. In effect, the personal factor that I described in the first section of this paper as the key factor in determining the utilization of evaluation research demonstrates the same insight. Individual people and individual circumstances make the major difference in what happens.

This means that instead of searching for that single model of education, health, or welfare that will work everywhere, legislators and government administrators must find ways to stimulate innovation and adaptation of programs to fit unique local needs and circumstances. Evaluation of such programs must also be based on the unique characteristics and goals of local programs, not evaluation by standardized criteria applied across the board.

The great threat from Big Government (or behavioral science in the service of Big Government) is not that it will ever perfectly control or manipulate us. The great danger is that we must use an ever greater quantum of our personal energy, creativity, and freedom of action finding ways to subvert standardized prescriptions for behavior (and evaluation) that are usually irrelevant and often destructive.

The search for solutions will go on, to be sure, both in science and in education. But the search ought not be for the One Solution. Rather, we must search for situational solutions - What is best for this program at this time in these circumstances? How can we help staff accomplish their goals? The challenge is to identify and implement alternatives, not universal prescriptions that treat people as if

they were all the same. This places the responsibility for program evaluation clearly at the local level.

This does not mean that there is no responsibility for evaluation at the national level. Quite the contrary, the federal responsibility is to make available resources and incentives for the conduct of local program evaluations. Each local program should describe and evaluate both processes (what is the program doing?) and outcomes (what changes occur in teachers and classrooms?). These local evaluations will then provide rich case study data that can be analyzed at the national level to look for patterns, trends, and variations in effectiveness under different conditions. Therein will be found information for program planning and development.

Of course, this is not the easy way to carry out evaluations. It is hard on local staff because they must clearly and explicitly state objectives for both program processes and outcomes, and they must develop methods of describing, observing, and measuring those processes and outcomes. It is hard on Office of Education and NIE staff because they cannot apply some handy yardstick to all programs and thereby discover which is best. It is hard on evaluators because they must interact intensively with local staff to determine what information is appropriate in a particular situation. But if teacher centers are evaluated as other national educational programs have been evaluated (e. g., Headstart, Follow Through, National Assessment), we will continue to be like Nasrudin looking for his lost key (Shah, 1964, p. 62):

> On one occasion a neighbor found Nasrudin down on his knees under a street lamp looking for something.
> "What have you lost, Mulla?"
> "My key," said Nasrudin.
> After a few minutes of searching, the other man said, "Where did you drop it?"
> "In that dark pasture."
> "Then why, for heaven's sake, are you looking here?"
> "Because there is more light here."

On Causes and Effects

The reason for separating program processes from program outcomes is to allow us to relate them to each other. The sequence of questions goes like this:

1. Are we implementing the program the way we want to (process evaluation)?
2. Are teachers changing/developing the way we want them to (outcomes evaluation)?
3. Is what we're doing in the program (the processes) related to the changes we see in teachers (the outcomes)?

This last question takes us into the arena of *causality*. Do the processes/activities of the teacher center cause/affect the behaviors/attitudes/skills/knowledge/feelings of teachers? One need know very little about research to know that it is impossible to establish causality in any final sense when dealing with the complexities of real programs where treatments are never pure, single, and uncontaminated.

It is easy to become frustrated with the difficulty of establishing the relationship between program activities and program outcomes. We can't answer such questions definitively. No amount of scientific sophistication will provide definitive answers to causal questions for the same reason that there is no *one* right approach to changing human behavior. But that is no reason not to ask the question. We cannot provide definitive answers, but we can arrive at some reasonable estimation of the likelihood that particular activities have had an effect. This point is important for it tells us something about what we can expect from evaluation research. Evaluation data are never clear-cut and absolute. Studies are always flawed in some way. There are always questions of reliability and validity. Error-free instruments do not exist and cannot exist in the measurement of complex human social/behavioral/psychological phenomena. Of what good is all this then?

Evaluation research is only of use if you believe that some systematic information is better than no systematic information. Evaluation research only has meaning if you believe that a rough idea of the relationship between program activities and outcomes is better than reliance entirely upon hope and good intentions. Evaluation research does not provide final answers, but *it can provide direction*.

Earlier I referred to a study aimed at determining the factors that affect the utilization of evaluation research (Patton, *et al.*, 1977). The first task in that study was to describe how evaluations actually were used. What we found was considerably more complex and less dismal than our original impressions had led us to expect. Evaluation research is used but not in the ways we had anticipated. None of the

impacts described was of the type where new findings from an evaluation led directly and immediately to the making of major, concrete program decisions. The more typical impact was one where the evaluation findings provided additional pieces of information in the difficult puzzle of program action, thereby permitting some reduction in the uncertainty within which any decision maker inevitably operates. This reduction of uncertainty emerged as highly important to decision makers. In some cases it simply made them more confident and determined. On the other hand, where the need for change was indicated, an evaluation study could help speed up the process of change or provide an impetus for finally getting things rolling.

Reducing uncertainty, speeding things up, and getting things finally started are real impacts - not revolutionary, organization-shaking impacts - but important impacts in the opinion of the people we interviewed. One administrator summarized this view both on the specific evaluation in question and about evaluation in general:

> Myself I have a favorable view toward evaluating. If nothing else it precipitates activity many times that could not be precipitated without someone taking a hard look at an organization. It did precipitate activity in (this program). Some of the findings were not positive. Some of it was negative. At least something occurred that wouldn't have occurred if the evaluation hadn't taken place (Patton, *et al.*, 1977, p. 47).

It is crucial to set realistic expectations at the beginning of the evaluative process about what can be expected and how data will be used. Everyone involved should clearly understand that evaluation findings can provide important information for program improvement, but findings must be interpreted in the full context of the particular circumstances under which a program operates. Evaluation results from a single study ought not be the sole basis on which major program decisions are made. It is important, then, to ask causal questions, even though evaluation data can only provide an approximate picture of what is really happening. It is important to ask causal questions. It is also important to interpret the results with prudence and care.

> One day an old man approached Zen master Hyakujō. The old man said, "I am not a human being. In ancient times I lived on this mountain. A student of the Way asked me if the enlightened were still affected by causality. I replied saying that they were not

affected. Because of that I was degraded to lead the life of a wild fox for five hundred years. I now request you to answer one thing for me. Are the enlightened still affected by causality?"

Master Hyakujo replied, "They are not deluded by causality."

At that the old man was enlightened.

Master Hyakujo clapped his hands, laughed, and said, "I only thought that the barbarian's beard was red, I never realized it was a red-bearded barbarian" (Hoffman, 1975, p. 138; adapted).

Questions for Teacher Center Evaluation: An Overview from An Iron Cow

I began this paper with the basic tenet of the Koan educational method that the question is as important as the answer. This paper has centered on evaluation questions for teacher centers. In this final section I shall attempt to summarize and order those questions.

1. Who is the study for? Whose question will be answered? Who will determine what it all means?
   a. Is the evaluation intended for local program staff to use in improving the program?
   b. Is the evaluation intended for state or federal officials to use in making global program decisions?
   c. What expectations are there about how the evaluation data will be used, by whom, to make what decisions, on what issues?

2. What do we want to affect in teachers? How do we want teachers to be different after the program?
   a. What changes, if any, do we expect in *teachers' feelings?*
   b. What changes, if any, do we expect in *teachers' opinions?*
   c. What changes, if any, do we expect in *teachers' knowledge?*
   d. What changes, if any, do we expect in *teachers' skills?*
   e. What changes, if any, do we expect in *teachers' behavior?*

3. How will we *observe, describe, and/or measure* the degree to which teachers are different after the program?

4. What are our criteria for success? and failure? At what level and to what degree do we expect to affect teachers (for each specific outcome desired)?

   a. At what level are we doing an outstanding job?
   b. At what level are we doing an adequate job?
   c. At what level are we doing a poor job?

5. What program activities and processes do we expect to engage in to affect teachers?

   a. Do we expect to use formal instruction by curriculum specialists to affect teachers?
   b. Do we expect to use informal, nondirected teacher exploration to affect teachers?
   c. Do we expect to use advisers in establishing warm, interpersonal, and directive relationships with teachers?

6. How will we *observe, describe, and/or measure* the degree to which we actually implement program processes and activities as planned?

7. What are our criteria for success? and failure? At what level and to what degree do we expect to implement program processes and activities?

   a. At what level are we doing an outstanding job?
   b. At what level are we doing an adequate job?
   c. At what level are we doing a poor job?

8. What is the relationship between what we're doing in the program (the processes) and the changes observed in teachers (the outcomes)? Is there a relationship? How much confidence do we have in the strength of that relationship?

9. What does it all mean? What do we do now? What have we learned about the program that gives us a direction for action?

10. The Koan of An Iron Cow (Hoffman, 1975, p. 134-35). Master Fuketsu said, "Buddha-mind is just like an iron cow; if there is movement - there is no progress;

if there is standstill - there is stagnation. Well, this 'no-movement-no-standstill,' should one be mindful of it? Should one be unmindful of it?"

Answer: "It's like a stone mill."

Master: "Why is it so?"

Answer: "It doesn't move a bit. Along the hedge chasing a butterfly, by the water's side toying with a frog."

Master: "This 'no-movement-no-standstill,' should one be mindful of it? Should one be unmindful of it? If I keep after you in this way, how will you answer?"

Answer: The pupil slaps his master once.

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V

DISCUSSION OF POLICIES AND RESEARCH

CHAPTER 9

THE FEDERAL TEACHER CENTER PROGRAM: PERSPECTIVES FROM THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Report of Remarks by
ALLEN SCHMIEDER

Dr. Schmieder divided his remarks into three parts: the history of teacher centers in the United States; the current situation; and the federal teacher center program.

History of Teacher Centers in the United States

The "modern history" of teacher centers began with the national concern for retraining teachers following the launching of Sputnik in 1957. Since then a number of organizations and ideas have played a significant role. The professional associations and foundations have been important, and certain states have done a good deal. Cities like Dallas have been involved in center activity for twenty years. In Dr. Schmieder's opinion, however, the federal programs have had the major impact.

Educational concepts have also shaped the movement. Concepts like open education and competency-based education have probably been the most influential; alternative schools have had some impact, as have school-based internships for prospective and beginning teachers. Even though teacher

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Summary of transcript of Dr. Schmieder's talk at the Seminar on Teacher Centers, June 21, 1977.

education centers are not the same as teacher centers, they have certain elements in common, such as working with classroom teachers, making available the best materials, and working with the university. These elements can help us better understand teacher centers.

The last influence is the foreign influence, and it has been strong. Politically, the success of teacher centers in other countries has helped materially in gaining support for them here.

Dr. Schmieder expanded on the government's part in the history of teacher centers. In 1958, major federal programs for retraining teachers were embodied in NDEA Institutes and the National Science Foundation Institutes. While these institute programs were not teacher centers, they began to do some of the things that have come to be associated with the center concept, e.g., involving teachers in the planning process and having them on the center's staff. In fact, toward the end, these programs had a good deal in common with teacher centers.

The federal training complex grew out of the institutes programs. The training complex program was based on the premise of two weaknesses in teacher education: the absence of training in the skills of teaching and the lack of genuine collaboration between universities and schools. Since, it was argued, most of the expertise in training is to be found outside formal education and is little used by professional educators, every community should have a training center where expertise about children and teaching can be concentrated and brought to bear on improving classroom instruction. It was further thought that the primary interests of universities and schools are too divergent to permit collaboration in teacher education: a new social institution located in neutral territory would be necessary to bring it about.

Dr. Schmieder was given responsibility for the training complex program two years after it came into operation at the U.S. Office of Education. The staff proposed 600 to 700 training complexes with a budget of $6 billion; $1 million was appropriated. Pilot projects of two kinds of training complexes, organizational and functional, were begun. In 1967, the Office of Education began to call training complexes teacher centers.

At that time, few teachers were involved with the federal government or participated in government policy committees, task forces, and the like. The movement toward community control which began in the mid-1960s frightened many educators. Meetings often turned into confrontations. In the training complex program, OE wanted to bring teachers to center-stage

but was not quite ready to put them in charge or certain it would be accepted. Thankfully, the new legislation gives control to teachers, Dr. Schmieder said.

Several other government programs have influenced the teacher center program. The Office of Education, for example, funded model elementary programs which eventually created pilot centers. Title III supported various schoolwide activities. A program called B-2 assisted teacher centers. Teacher Corps has advanced the training center concept. But the most significant effort, in Dr. Schmieder's experience, was the aborted Educational Renewal Program. No one studying centers should overlook that effort, he said, because the same thing is beginning to happen again. At that time people were very concerned about the proliferation of government programs - bilingual education, career education, special education - about fifteen programs, all requiring staff development, all relating to the same clients - teachers and disadvantaged children. The programs were proceeding without reference to each other, and there was no unified staff development strategy for dealing with these new concepts that were putting extra pressure on teachers. To cope with the situation, OE in 1971 created the Educational Renewal Program in which the teacher center would have a key position. Japanese-type centers were visualized - large facilities in every community. With federal support, the teacher center could become a lever for introducing educational renewal. The program was abandoned when it became clear that authorizing legislation would be required. The climate was not favorable because "renewal" was in trouble and the label "teacher center" made certain people nervous.

The Current Situation

There is a great diversity today in American centers, and common elements among centers which seem quite different. But whether sponsored by local education agencies, the state or federal government, or a private foundation, centers must be concerned about how to get teachers to come to the centers, the linkages needed, and whether to respond to school priorities as well as individual priorities. All centers deal with essentially the same issues, but because they have been doing so in different contexts, experience is not automatically transferable. Dr. Schmieder urged that the range of experience be looked at closely because it can teach us more than we imagined. The most important studies of the teacher center movement nationally have been carried out by Yarger

at Syracuse University, Waskins at the University of Michigan, and Devaney at the Far West Laboratory. The Syracuse study, in which Dr. Schmieder participated, surveyed 11,000 school districts, all institutions of higher education, and two hundred centers that had been identified as the "best" centers. Using a broad definition of "teacher centers" it was ascertained that there are 4,500 centers, or one for every three school districts.

Federal Teacher Center Program

In discussing the new law* Dr. Schmieder cited two likely spin-offs - greatly increased discussion about teacher participation and greater interest on the part of higher education. OE anticipates receiving 1,800 proposals; even if all are not funded, coming together to discuss teacher centers is meaningful for those involved. Although higher education is to receive only 10% of the federal appropriations, interest from this quarter is great. Some have suggested that it stems from concern that teacher centers might adversely affect higher education; whatever the motivation, Dr. Schmieder argued that it is good to have such high interest by people in higher education.

The new law must be examined within the context of the federal mission in education which has several purposes including (a) to keep the public informed about the status of American education; (b) to facilitate interstate sharing; (c) to support experimental projects, thus lessening that burden on local education agencies and states; and (d) to meet emergency demands. The particular purpose for the teacher center program is still undecided, Dr. Schmieder said. Is it to be a demonstration program? If so, it will only affect a relatively small number of people. Is it to be a major-impact or service program? If so, it may be expanded so that a large percentage of teachers will eventually be affected. Dr. Schmieder estimated that in the first year one percent of the teachers in this country will be affected. Two percent will be affected if Congress appropriates $10 million to the program, and, depending on the nature of the centers, possibly ten percent could be affected if the full authorization is received.

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*Public Law 94-482, October 12, 1976, Amendment. Part B - Teacher Training Programs, Sec. 532 - Teacher Centers.

Educational Trends Bearing on Teacher Centers

There are a number of trends or factors in the American educational scene today which may affect the federal teacher center program and which the program in turn may influence. One is displaced teachers and unemployment. Many urban areas are laying off teachers, and in some communities as many as 40% of the teachers now hold nonteaching positions. There are an estimated 600,000 unemployed teachers. At the same time, 500,000 new special education teachers are needed, as are many new counselors and early childhood teachers; there are about six categories in which personnel are in short supply. Centers can help unemployed and displaced teachers to retrain for new positions.

A second factor is a stabilizing work force, which explains the shift in interest from preservice to inservice training. The median age of teachers is increasing, and a higher percentage do not need more credits. New incentives are needed to encourage teachers to improve their capabilities.

A third factor relates to the need for training to implement new priorities. Teachers are constantly asked to take on new responsibilities, and teacher centers could be instrumental in creating appropriate staff development activities.

Another factor is the heightened concern about basic skills. Everyone is interested in improving reading, and some states are requiring high school teachers to be effective in the teaching of reading. Oregon has a competency-based high school certificate; California will have one, and other states are moving in that direction. This has implications for the way teachers teach and underscores the need for teacher centers.

The last factor concerns improved dissemination of validated products and knowledge, a matter of concern to the Congress. The National Institute of Education and the Office of Education are discussing dissemination and networking and their implications for teacher training and teacher centers. For example, recent evidence shows that the average student spends more than 51% of his classroom time working with instructional materials. This has tremendous implications for teacher centers where materials development and curriculum development are central activities.

Policy Issues

The federal teacher center program raises a number of policy issues and potential sources of controversy. One concerns the role of the state education agency. The state education agency has considerable power and influence in this program, including responsibility for reviewing proposals and determining the criteria to be used. Some states have said that a teacher center proposal which does not relate to the state's priorities may not be recommended for funding. The state role extends to technical assistance and dissemination, but of what and to whom is not entirely clear in the legislation.

A second policy issue concerns release time. OE has taken the position that teachers may be paid only for time spent at policy board meetings. OE recognizes that board membership requires more time than that and agrees that staff development should occur during the regular school day. The policy is based on cost consideration: only one third as many centers can be supported if money goes for release time. Dr. Schmieder noted that many people believe OE should give the center the option of whether to pay for release time out of its grant.

A third issue relates to evaluation. Dr. Schmieder said he had learned to take a strong stand on the need for evaluation in the federal guidelines: if evidence shows that the training which takes place in teacher centers is closely related to teachers' problems, Congress is likely to accept the fact that centers are worthwhile.

A fourth policy issue concerns the role of higher education. Dr. Schmieder did not agree that the teacher center program would divert power and dollars from higher education. Most centers will probably draw on higher education personnel as part of their staff. Moreover, if, as expected, colleges or universities are involved in offering courses at the centers for credit, many more people are likely to take them.

A fifth involves the relationship of the teacher center program to other priorities in the Office of Education. It would clearly be inappropriate for OE to say, for example, that centers should be concerned with special education or mainstreaming.

A final issue relates to the size of the clientele. While the federal law states that a center cannot refuse services to anyone in its school district, the center is not required to provide services to every teacher. The policy board of each center will decide who the target group will be.

OE intends to make a substantial number of planning grants so as to involve more people in the program. With greater

participation, the agency will also be in a somewhat better position when seeking funding. The average planning grant may be in the neighborhood of $20,000 to $40,000. If little money is appropriated to the program, alternative strategies would be to fund fewer centers, restrict release-time payments, or give more to the states as an indication that teacher centers are a desirable educational strategy. Among the states, Michigan and West Virginia are giving substantial support to teacher centers. Florida has more funds for the purpose than does OE. California has a bill which could potentially bring $2 million to centers. The Texas bill was narrowly defeated, and now a two-year wait is necessary. OE has also taken the position that a state education agency will not receive funds for technical assistance or dissemination unless a center is funded in that state.

In conclusion, Dr. Schmieder said he had "read enough research to know" that nothing happens in the classroom without the teacher having some understanding of what is expected and some training in the skills that are needed. Most of the $20 billion that is spent by the federal government on education is not spent in helping the teacher directly. The federal teacher center program is one attempt to fill this gap, and it is a highly worthwhile investment.

CHAPTER 10

DISCUSSIONS OF MAJOR ISSUES RELATED TO TEACHER CENTERS

Most of the material in this book was prepared for the Seminar on Teacher Centers held at The University of Chicago in June 1977. This chapter is based on small group discussions of issues that emerged during the seminar. The seminar organizers wanted to insure that topics not included in the set agenda but viewed as important by participants would also be addressed. A small committee was created to monitor the sessions and to identify a set of questions which deserved further discussion. The committee formulated the following questions:

1. How can existing teacher centers help in the establishment of new centers? *(Information Sharing)*
2. Do certain roles and structures of governance limit or facilitate the work of teacher centers? *(Governance)*
3. What institutional factors in schools and teacher centers support growth and change in teachers? *(Institutional Factors)*
4. What does knowledge about teacher development imply for the development of teacher centers? *(Developmental Concerns)*
5. Can a center meet the diverse needs of teachers and still maintain a coherent orientation? *(Center Orientations)*

Seminar participants were invited to join one or more of the five groups that would focus on these questions. Each group selected a spokesman to summarize the group's deliberations in the final session of the seminar. The reports that follow are edited transcripts of those presentations. (S.F.)

INFORMATION SHARING

How can existing teacher centers help in the establishment of new centers, and how can communication be promoted among the relevant persons and institutions?

Kathleen Devaney

Our group expressed concern that those who respond to the federal legislation may not be familiar with the long history of the teacher centers that already exist - where they came from, what their roots are, and what currents in education have produced them. It would be unfortunate if new centers were established as though nothing had preceded them. What is the knowledge base about teacher centers? Who pulls together all the information that exists? How does it become accessible?

I direct the Teachers' Centers Exchange, a project funded by the National Institute of Education's School Capacity for Problem-Solving Group and located at the Far West Laboratory in San Francisco. The Exchange serves as a facilitator and information and referral center for a natural network of teacher centers which my colleague Lorraine Keeney and I began to identify in 1974. Subsequently we have been in contact with approximately a hundred teacher centers around the United States. (They are described in a directory published by the Exchange.) Mainly we are a telephone-answering service, a switchboard. We listen to questions about teacher centers and put people in touch with existing centers around the country which seem to be operating in a similar context with similar problems. In this way people find technical assistance in the field from practitioners like themselves rather than from a central agency. Our project provides us money to bring people together in small workshops, to send consultants to centers, and to enable people from centers to visit each other. In short, we try to expand, solidify, support, and extend a network of people who are putting in their own energies, taking

the initiative, seeking information. With NIE we want to understand the dynamics of this kind of networking and see how far it can be stretched using the participants' own personal energy and give-and-take.

The growing library and bibliography which Allen Schmieder has set up at the Office of Education is more like a clearinghouse where everything is available. It offers information at the awareness level. Other conventional ways of circulating information by state departments of education, teacher associations, universities, and professional organizations are also awareness-level devices. The Teachers' Centers Exchange does not try to be a clearinghouse. Rather we bring more targeted information to people who already know what they think their problems are, and we put them in personal contact with others. While the quantity of information is smaller it is much more focused. In other words, we respond to the fact that a given individual with any one problem or question can only assimilate a certain amount of information.

There is still a deeper level of communication illustrated by the center network that exists around Chicago and, to some extent, around the state of Illinois. These teacher centers help each other, share information, talk about issues. They also serve as an information resource for school districts in the area who want to start teacher centers. Only such personalized, very specific information really works as a communication device.

In our Teachers' Centers Exchange, the way information gets passed does not always rely on us. There is a give-and-take among all the members of the network, so that information is shared without the information center always knowing about it. Anybody who is a member of that network acts as a communicator about teacher centers. There is much redundancy, specificity, and, I think, efficiency. Because the communicators are in the field they can act spontaneously, even serendipitously.

Our working group also talked about the role of the national teacher associations, the NEA and the AFT, in promulgating information about teacher centers. Both these organizations have emerging and fairly comprehensive plans and task forces to inform their members and associations about teacher centers, not only as an opportunity for federal money but as a concept which associations should support regardless of whether funds materialize. Tom Feeley from the AFT has just taken part in a task force tour of about eight centers that was coordinated by the Teachers' Centers Exchange. He itemized the issues which teachers with little information about centers were interested in: finance, governance, how centers decide what to do, staffing, evaluation, programming, and participa-

tion. He said that the task force observed weaknesses in the teacher centers they visited, but they did not find out about major problems in getting started. We noted that good descriptions about the difficulties in starting and running centers do not exist. The descriptions we have are too synoptic; they do not help readers to really understand what a center is like.

In summary, Working Group 1 discussed three levels of communication for spreading information and advice about practice in teacher centers. The first level is simple awareness, procurement of information. The second level, more specific, is a matchmaking or brokering service in which seriously interested inquirers are put in touch with experienced teacher center practitioners from whom they can learn. The third level is give-and-take about practice and problems - resource exchanges in localities, in regional networks, or in subject-matter-specific networks.

The group also articulated a problem: Will (or should) experienced centers be reluctant to assist newly organizing centers? One could recommend subsidizing experienced centers' consultancies to newly organizing centers. But will the experienced centers be able to stimulate the growth of new centers while their own centers wither? There is also a gamble that existing centers will be asked for technical assistance but criticized for their point of view about learning; that visitors to an experienced center will take and copy the techniques - the interior decorating, the "surface curriculum," and programming ideas - but reject the basic constructs and concepts that motivated the teacher center movement.

GOVERNANCE

Do certain roles and structures of governance limit or facilitate the work of teacher centers?

Fredrick V. Hayen

Because teacher centers are atypical organizations without traditional hierarchical structures, it makes very little sense to try to set them up according to traditional bureaucratic procedures. Many aspects of the federal regulations - time lines, process, intent - pose problems in this regard. For example, before a teacher center can be established, a long process of building up awareness must take place to get

people ready to take initiative: teachers must become convinced that this is a promising way to go and develop an interest in getting involved. The schedule stipulated by the regulations does not allow time for this necessary evolution. Perhaps the government should not always be involved. Our working group was not opposed to federal assistance, but given all the changes that may have to be made to comply with the federal program, we are not sure that government support should be sought in every case. "Teachers' centers," spelled with an apostrophe, implies governance of and by teachers. We agreed that teachers should be in the majority on center boards. Those of us representing collaborative center organizations with an existing governance structure based on parity are probably ruled out by the new regulations. We could not qualify for federal assistance without violating some of the basic agreements already established through great trial and tribulation.

Many of us felt strongly that teacher organizations should not be the management body or governing agency of a teacher center that uses public funds. Teacher organizations believe that responsibility to the center is inherent in organizational membership, because membership enhances the individual's obligation to serve more effectively on a center board. This may be quite true. If teacher organizations want to be identified with a teacher center, they should probably use their own funds. There was not universal agreement in our group on this point.

As a general position, we would recommend that a center policy board include representatives of all the client systems - administrators, teacher educators, and parents - so that the center can meet their retraining needs as well.

We tried to clarify some of the problems that relate to establishing a center policy board which must function under the umbrella of a second policy board, the school board. Those involved must be very clear about the relationship between the two umbrellas. For one thing, the teacher center board is ultimately accountable to the school board. Even with this limitation, the center board still has a good bit of leeway to make policy and not simply to function as an advisory group.

A large group is not always an effective decision-making body. Wherever possible, there should be consensus; however, there must also be ways of making decisions which cannot rely on a majority vote or which require speed. Some forms of administrative fiat may be in order.

Lest membership become ceremonial, considerable thought should be given to the role that persons who serve on policy boards should have in addition to their governance or deci-

sion-making function. Individual board members should probably have some other functional or liaison role regarding the center.

There was considerable agreement that a governing structure does not make a teacher center. Many people seem to think that once governance problems are settled, all other problems are also solved. In fact, it may well be that governing structure should come second, not first, so that it can develop out of the center as it evolves and be more appropriate to the organization. That is a typical teachers' center approach.

Our group concluded that "centers would be great places for teacher organizations, unions, educational associations, to show taxpayers they care about the improvement of instruction."

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

What institutional factors in schools and teacher centers support growth and change in teachers?

Doris Chenault

Teachers do not operate in a vacuum; their needs are implicitly tied in with the students, schools, and communities of which they are a part. It follows that teacher centers are implicitly tied into the communities they serve. The organizational factors which support growth and change in teachers are those which strengthen relationships among the units of the educational community.

Commitment to the ideology of growth and change and to designs for facilitating them is very important. All major educational units - the universities, school districts, parent organizations, and professional unions - must share this commitment in the initial or pre-planning stage when ideas are being formulated and people are beginning to think that a teacher center might be an effective strategy. Such broad-based involvement should continue through planning and implementation.

Specificity of organizational goals is also necessary from the outset. It provides a basis for deciding how large the center should be, whom it should serve, and how services will be delivered. These considerations determine whether a center will provide an individualized, people-changing operation or an extensive staff development program. A small center can

enjoy an intimate relationship with people over an extended period of time. A large professional growth and development center can potentially service a wider clientele through linkages with many other organizations, groups, and resources.

Coordination of varied inservice programs should also be built into the service area of a center. Teacher centers are not the first organizational effort to address the inservice needs of teachers or to support curriculum development and educational innovation. If the services of the teacher center can be coordinated with efforts already in place, a richer context for professional development can be provided. Such coordination allows for combined resources, better management, and effective use of time. Sharing through a brokerage process eliminates some of the duplication of inservice programs and services.

Systems can be designed to produce a ripple effect. For example, structures for sharing among teachers in the same school can extend the total impact of the center. Opportunities for leadership development can be provided through programs which train individuals who, in turn, offer similar training to other educators. Well-structured follow-up procedures also contribute to a ripple effect.

Most important, centers should enable teachers to identify their own needs and to address them in learning situations that are appropriate to their styles of learning and to their stated goals. On-site interaction can lead to curriculum development and create support systems within the school to address local problems. Individuals who have been successful in a given area can model that experience for others in a laboratory format. The needs of preservice teachers offer another opportunity for school staff to come together around common goals and problems.

The Detroit Center for Professional Growth and Development with which I am associated illustrates this coordinated approach. A commitment to professional development is shared by persons from all major educational units in the Detroit area. From the start, educators from various agencies planned the Center together. As a result, a five-member Governance Board was set up, composed of the Dean of the College of Education, the Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools, the Superintendent of Wayne County Intermediate School District, the President of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, and the President of the (Detroit) Organization of School Administrators and Supervisors. A representative from the State Office of Education serves as an adviser to the Board.

The Center has four major components - mathematics and

reading resource centers, field consultant services, demonstration sites, and an evaluation component. The demonstration sites are located in four schools - one elementary, two middle, and one high school. Each is staffed with one inservice specialist from our Center who facilitates the school's inservice activities. The inservice specialist is in a good position to support the school faculty in defining needs and identifying resources. The reading and mathematics laboratories serve as university-based demonstration sites for educators who are interested in developing new or improved approaches to the teaching of mathematics and reading. The field consultant services respond to requests from educators for specified inservice programs. In a viable way, we have developed four interlocking structures to meet the needs of Detroit educators.

DEVELOPMENTAL CONCERNS

What does knowledge about teacher development imply for the development of teacher centers?

Marianne Amarel

We identified three spheres of development that teacher centers should consider. First, centers must respond to the developmental needs of teachers at different stages in their careers. Our understanding of teachers' professional growth patterns is limited (Katz, 1972), and this is also an important area for further research. Second, teacher centers should think about the course of their own development, the changes that the centers themselves undergo. Depending on certain critical features, it is assumed that centers will develop along different paths. Among the differentiating features are:

a stable staff -
versus one with high turnover

stable funding -
versus uncertain support that restricts a center to short-range planning

a dominant founder or leader -
versus horizontal, distributed leadership

a staff with specific skills -
versus one composed of generalists

Third, centers must attend to the development of teachers within, or in relation to, the center. We assume that as teachers work in a center over time, they will make new and different demands on the center's resources.

While all teacher centers would do well to reflect on these three areas of development, they can best do so within the framework of their own purposes and circumstances. Is the center a multipurpose or single-purpose organization? Put another way, is the center like a classroom or more like a school? Does it respond to a changing group of teachers with assorted needs, or does it focus on the same teachers over a longer period of time? These differences have important implications for staffing and programming. As an example, a single-purpose center probably has a more homogeneous staff than a multipurpose one; thus, the internal development of the staffs may follow divergent patterns.

As we discussed the variety of responsibilities which centers can assume vis-à-vis teachers and school systems, the word "subversive" kept coming in. There are many ways in which centers may in fact become subversive of the existing school system. A relatively innocuous way is to inform teachers fully and clearly about the federal, state, and local directives affecting their practice. A working knowledge of the nature of the constraints as well as the flexibility inherent in such mandates could well result in a reinterpretation of these givens and altered ways of implementing them. Of course, centers can be overtly subversive by helping teachers resist and counteract the constraints they find inimical to their practice.

Another issue related to center goals and teacher development emerged as we discussed the utilization of research results. What responsibility does a teacher center have to guide teachers along a developmental progression that research may uncover? This is a companion question to a more general one about center goals: Does the center respond to teachers at their current level of development without charting a future course, or does the center actively facilitate progress along some stated or implied direction?

Centers also need to take account of the fact that the teaching profession is stabilizing. Demographic changes and their effects on employment opportunities may make the norm a teaching career that extends over a whole working lifetime. This will bring mid-career crises and other earmarks of professional fatigue, challenging teacher centers to provide support for regenerative processes. This prospect also implicates the nature of the rewards of teaching. Research indicates that teachers perceive their major rewards to be intrinsic, arising from their interactions with their students (Lortie, 1977).

Some teacher centers seek to build an additional set of intrinsic rewards into the teaching process itself by encouraging teachers to reflect on their craft, to experiment with instructional strategies, to observe themselves as learners. In short, their aim is to make teachers into students of their own practice.

Finally, we discussed the intricate question of an appropriate division of labor between teacher centers and staff development programs in other institutions such as universities and school districts. Without a clear perception of a role and a place among other agencies involved in staff development, teacher centers are vulnerable to unrealistic expectations and oversize tasks. The one function we thought teacher centers should keep for themselves is that of storing and exchanging practical teaching wisdom. How to record and present the practitioner's wisdom, and how to facilitate and monitor its utility are also research questions. Although teacher centers might serve as a filter for research, engaging in reality testing, they probably should not take on a research function. Supporting reflection and deliberation about practice, examining ways that practical teaching wisdom may be accumulated and communicated, are vital and challenging enough.

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CENTER ORIENTATIONS

Can a center meet the diverse needs of teachers and still maintain a coherent orientation?

Patricia Zigarmi

Our discussion revolved around three questions. What can we observe about the ways in which different centers respond to teachers' needs? What can we observe about the needs of teachers? What can we observe about the influence of a center's philosophy on its way of responding to these needs?

There are centers ostensibly trying to meet a wide variety of needs, and centers that respond to a narrower range of needs. The latter usually have a specific function or purpose, i.e., implementing a centrally determined curriculum. The former are more responsive to their clients' interest and perceptions of needs. The question of how centers respond differently to teacher needs can also be viewed from another perspective: their way of responding to initial requests. Some centers take initial requests and respond to them at face value, linking teachers to resources or providing them with new materials or ideas. Unless the person returns with another request, his or her involvement with the center is over. Centers which function as linking agents are generally not concerned with follow-up in the classroom or extending a teacher's learning. Other centers are very concerned about latent or secondary requests which are more difficult to articulate. Responding to an initial request may uncover a whole raft of issues related to that need. Such a center is concerned with probing and extending the initial request or interest.

Some members of our group felt that centers could respond to a wide range of requests (in relation to curriculum, children's learning, new materials, room arrangement, etc.) and to different levels of the same sort of request (seeking awareness, further information, competency, support alternatives, etc.). Others felt that a center had to become increasingly clear and narrow in purpose so that teachers could know what kind of orientation and help to expect from their involvement with a center. We could not reach any consensus on this. We did agree that a center could probably never be all things to all teachers. For that reason, there may be a need for different kinds of centers in the same area. We are somewhat bothered by the assumption that what is good for 20 or 30 or 50 percent of the teaching populace is good for 100 percent. The federal regulations seem to be saying that teacher centers should serve 100 percent of the teachers. Although members of our group felt that centers need to reach out to new clients, they thought it unrealistic to expect centers to meet the needs of all teachers.

If a center expects to expand the number of teachers it serves, most members of our group felt it must be clearer or more specific about its function. But as it becomes clearer about functions, it will inevitably exclude some people who valued a more open focus. The vicious circle is unavoidable. The recent history of the Advisory and Learning Exchange in Washington, D.C., serves as an example. The ALE tried to become a different kind of center by reaching out to more teachers who were coping with an imposed competency-based educa-

tional program. As the Exchange responded to the needs of a broader clientele who were dealing with this imposed mandate, it lost many of the old clients who had kept it going all along. Now the District has decided to create its own center. By changing from an "alternative" teacher center to one serving the needs of a wider clientele, the Advisory and Learning Exchange lost both its legitimacy and its original supporters.

The most important observation we made about teachers' needs is that they are always changing - often in response to externally imposed demands and directives. We agreed that centers somehow have to respond flexibly to the immediate, pressing needs of teachers while consistently encouraging them to become more reflective about what is happening to children in their classrooms. Some teachers may be unaware of their needs, and someone will have to help them think about their teaching. Others will have their initial needs met through activities at the Center and then will require time and support in the classroom to consolidate their practice before identifying new interests and objectives. Still others will want new ideas and concrete materials to address needs they have identified.

The question of the influence of a center's philosophy on its style of responding to teacher needs is more difficult. We did not perceive that the centers represented here are necessarily tied to a philosophy which is exclusive, even though many of them may be rooted in a set of beliefs labeled "informal" or "open" education. Teacher centers now and probably in the future must have a philosophy which endorses the goal of responding in diverse ways to diverse needs that are continually changing. Centers that respond in singular ways to diverse needs will only serve a limited number of clients who are already comfortable with the center's approach to teaching. Whether or not a center has a clearly articulated philosophy of education, we recognize that different people see varying degrees of responsiveness in different kinds of centers.

In conclusion, we believe that alternatives are important and that funding must be available to support diversity. We do not want the independent centers which have been a kind of yeast for the teacher center movement to experience the same fate as the Advisory and Learning Exchange. We need both the kind of centers which started this movement and those which will be created by the federal legislation. To maintain such a healthy dialectic, both centers that respond to a wide variety of needs and centers that organize around a narrower purpose are necessary. It follows that alternative sources of funding must be encouraged.

CHAPTER 11

AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCH

LEE S. SHULMAN

This report outlines two types of research relevant to teacher centers. The first involves studies of the *centers themselves and their functioning*. The second involves *studies of those activities of teaching and learning, professional development and policymaking*, that are *particularly germane to intelligent decision making in or about centers*. This distinction may suggest a useful division of labor among funding agencies or their divisions so that both categories of research are well covered.

Research on Teacher Centers

It seems reasonable to assume that teacher centers are a major development in contemporary education which deserve careful study in their own right. We would argue that the process of developing, creating, and sustaining teacher centers needs careful documentation through systematic descriptive studies.

First, we should document the histories of teacher centers. This could be done through a funding process that provides each center with an archivist on site, or it could be done by an outside agency. In conjunction with these on-line,

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Edited transcript of the report of the chairman of the Research Monitoring Committee at the Seminar on Teacher Centers, June 21, 1977.

real-time institutional histories, we must also study the kinds of interactions that occur in centers. We know very little about what actually goes on. Who talks to or works with whom? What gets discussed or shared? What are the patterns of influence? Who suggests, offers, gives, what to whom? What are the responses? What do teachers do in these centers? While such a study probably could not be done in all centers, it could be done in selected ones.

Perhaps the most important kind of descriptive study belongs to what Bronfenbrenner calls the "experimental ecology of education." We can study complex systems like teacher centers as organizations embedded in a larger matrix of organizations such as schools or school systems; however, we cannot really understand how that embedding works until something changes. We should take advantage of planned modifications or changes in existing centers by monitoring their effects; we should also be prepared to look at what happens when crises occur. For example, if an important cen_er suddenly loses its funding and dies, we should study what has happened as a way of finding out what kinds of connections existed between the center and other associated organizations. This is one way to make the best of a bad scene, a kind of empirical wake from a pathologist's viewpoint. Preferably these studies would occur not so much when centers die as when they change radically. We have such studies in health care. What happens when a hospital like the Massachusetts Mental Health Center suddenly, by state mandate, changes from a treatment center to a catchment area which makes diagnoses and sends people elsewhere for treatment? What happens to the Center, and what happens to the other places that are affected? By and large, such studies are descriptive and entail observation of participants.

Teachers, too, are part of networks. These include networks of support, communication, and influence. To whom do teachers turn when they need assistance, and where do teacher centers fit into this support network? What evidence exists of a "ripple effect" wherein the changes in approach or attitude achieved by one teacher in a center ripple outward to others who were not themselves center participants? Evidence that such action at a distance can occur via the centers could change significantly our estimates of a given center's likely scope of influence.

These examples raise questions about appropriate research methods. It would be a mistake to insist that one or another method of research in this area be pursued exclusively. Since we do not know which will be most productive, funding agencies should foster diversity of research methods. The range

could include collaborative research where teachers themselves verify descriptions, and more objective, systematic studies where teachers are being observed in some more classical sense.

Descriptive studies should be distinguished from evaluation, another area where research is needed. Teacher centers are, and will continue to be, pressured to evaluate their effectiveness. Legislators, bureaucrats, and policymakers rely on standardized achievement tests because they do not see an alternative. We have to provide some credible alternative, and this does not only apply to teacher centers. The entire inservice area needs an alternative way of documenting and representing changes that occur as a function of various inservice and staff development activities. Other fields have managed to avoid using client outcomes as the main criterion of success by figuring out what processes are involved in a professional-client relationship and by documenting the effects of training through changes in the quality of professional work. To make a case for this requires time for people at several research centers to work hard on the problem. Here is where collaboration among those agencies directly concerned with teacher centers *per se*, those more generally concerned with inservice education, and even those more generally concerned with studies of teaching itself, could be instrumental.

Another research area is governance. We have no empirical evidence about the consequences of different patterns of governance or different modes of selecting people to serve on center boards. Because the political realities will not permit planned variations here, we will have to take advantage again of natural variations. The process of negotiation written into the teacher center legislation will produce sufficient variety in types of governance and policy boards to permit studies of different patterns in their natural forms.

What form might the research take? It would be useful to study the deliberations of some of the policy boards in the way that Schwab (1969) and Walker (1975) have tried to study the deliberations of curriculum development groups. It is against the law to bug jury rooms, but it is not illegal to observe and study what occurs in policymaking boards as long as reasonable anonymity and confidentiality are respected. What we know about group decision making and problem solving suggests that there will be compromise and give-and-take, but that is a hypothesis; we have to see what goes on. Observational methods and techniques are available to study how policies are adopted by individuals and then applied to problems. The work of Kenneth Hammond and his colleagues at the

University of Colorado on the negotiation process (Balke, *et al.*, 1973) is suggestive.

As a corollary to studies of governance, we should examine how teachers and others can best be prepared to function effectively on policy boards. Unlike people in higher education or in administrative positions who always have a phone on their desk to confer with colleagues, teachers are isolated in their jobs all day. This puts them at a disadvantage with respect to what they can find out from their colleagues and from other sources. We have to study different ways of preparing teachers to play these roles.

This past year at the Michigan State University Institute for Research on Teaching, we have paid seven school districts for half the time of seven teachers. They divide their time equally between teaching in the school district and serving as research collaborators, helping the Institute plan and conduct research. By the end of the year, these teachers have developed a very different perspective on themselves, their profession, and the role of other institutions and organizations that relate to the process of education. I would feel very confident to see those teachers play an important policymaking role on teacher center boards. They have a breadth of experience and purview that cannot be matched by those of us on the faculty who did not have the good sense to pick up the half time they were giving up. That is one model for making participation on policy boards more productive and growth-producing for the teachers. We must also deal with the question of how to reeducate university faculty to participate in such activities.

A fourth area of research, which still deals with the centers themselves, focuses on their organization, functions, assumptions, and setting. Let me give some examples. What are the relationships between the expressed goals or commitments of centers, and their institutional arrangements? Do centers which have different purposes, goals, and commitments require a different kind of organization in the centers themselves and in their relations with schools and school systems?

This issue can also be raised with respect to the structure of schools and their openness to influence and change. Do some teacher centers affect these aspects of school organization? How critical is the cooperation of the school administration? Are certain types of school organization impervious to change? Are there ways of organizing work with teachers in centers which could modify that? For example, it is possible that teacher centers should not work with single teachers but rather with pairs or groups. The Army did some fascinating studies which may be relevant. Between World War

II and the Korean War, my friends in the Army Research Institute tell me that firepower per individual soldier on the front line increased 33 percent after a shift from one-man to two-man foxholes. There are a number of questions about the appropriate units of organization, training, and analysis, which deserve careful examination. Also, should these questions be studied separately or be built into descriptive observational studies?

Another organizational aspect involves the ambience of the center itself. Does the look and the feel of the center play an important function? Common sense and experience say, "Yes"; policymakers ask, "Is it cost-effective?" If there is $100,000 to spend, how much should go for materials and how much for ambience? It would be important to know more about the impact of the "surround" on the magnetism or drawing-power of the center.

What about studies of the staff person or consultant or expert n the center? There is considerable literature on these roles in other areas, and a systematic review may be helpful. The roles could be discussed from the perspective of research on dissemination and diffusion. On the other hand, there seems to be an interesting parallel between the role of consultant or staff member in a teacher center and the role of a teacher, especially in a more open educational setting. In both settings, the professional must defer the personal gratification of taking credit for the client's learning and allow the client to work through the learning and take that credit for himself. What rewards are there for the center staff (or teacher) if not credit for "bringing about" learning?

The relationship between teacher centers and other teacher education activities at the preservice and inservice levels also merits study. How do teacher centers influence teacher education in general?

Finally, it seems clear that we do not know how to describe or classify centers. Should research attempt to develop a classification scheme or would narrative descriptions be more likely to capture the distinctive features?

Research Relevant to Teacher Centers

The above are examples of some studies of the centers themselves. Research is also needed on certain aspects of teaching and teacher development so that the work of teacher centers can proceed more effectively. What characterizes the process of professional socialization and development of teachers? We need good longitudal studies, and these require long-term com-

mitments. One example in medicine is a longitudal study done by the Association of American Medical Colleges, where a group of physicians was followed for 25 years. The same group was also used for other studies during the course of the investigation. The point is, without understanding the nature of changes over time we cannot ask intelligent questions about how centers should respond to teachers at different levels and stages of professional development.

A subset of related questions concerns professional education and adult learning. For example, how do professionals learn most effectively about their own practice and about the possibility of modifying that practice? A lot of intuitive, personal wisdom has been accumulated across existing centers, and it should be brought together. We also need to study different stategies for helping teachers reflect on their own practice. These might include video feedback, opportunities to observe other teachers directly or on film, reading teacher scripts, or having a comfortable place to relax and talk with colleagues. Specific studies could be designed around teacher centers that employ different strategies.

Another research area deals with incentives for change. What motivates teachers to seek change at different points in their development, within different organizational, social, and political contexts, in current hard times? More specifically, what brings teachers to centers? In medicine, there are studies which catalogue the chief complaints people bring to physicians. Do we have similar studies of the epidemiology of complaints or requests to teacher centers? Of course, we have to distinguish between overt and covert needs that bring teachers to centers and not simply evaluate centers in terms of their responsiveness to explicit problems or requests. It is often said, for example, that teachers come to centers out of a sense of isolation in their work, and intuitively that seems a reasonable claim. To what extent is it true? What are the consequences on teachers of perceived or sensed isolation? How do different forms of participation in different kinds of centers affect that sense of isolation and, in turn, the teacher's classroom performance? The flip side of a sense of isolation is *a sense of efficacy*, of being able to effect or change something. (In the RAND study, relative sense of efficacy seemed to be the single most important determinant of whether teachers did change and innovate.) Do teacher centers increase teachers' sense of efficacy and therefore help them sustain educational changes which the center itself may not initiate? Here again we should not narrow the scope by studying only the effects or changes directly related to consultation or work in the center. The spin-off may be broader - a

tion or work in the center. The spin-off may be broader - *a heightened sense of efficacy, autonomy, power.*

There has been considerable discussion about the extent to which curriculum development is an appropriate center activity. Teachers interact in centers during the pre-active phases of teaching - planning, reflection, evaluation. Most of the research on teaching, however, looks at the interactive aspects of teaching - what teachers say and do with pupils in classrooms. Some people are beginning to examine the processes by which teachers plan their work. We know from some studies of curriculum development and use that most teachers do not take curriculum as given but attempt to adapt it to local conditions. How does that adaptation process take place? Perhaps we could learn to help teachers plan better if we learned more about how teachers do plan. There seems to be a new movement in the curriculum field to develop "half products," curriculum materials that cannot be used *unless* the teacher does something to them. Here is a wonderful opportunity for some collaborative research among people studying curriculum, teacher planning, and teacher centers. What is the optimum level of development that gives teachers sufficient opportunity to make a curriculum their own and adapt it to local conditions, without simply introducing a kind of chaos or frustration by not having enough there to begin with? In this sense, the teacher center becomes a curricular halfway house, a strategic research site for understanding teacher planning and curriculum adaptation. Again this calls for in-depth descriptive studies with small samples, rather than large-scale surveys.

The question of teacher decision making is related to teacher planning in such areas as curriculum selection, development, and implementation. For some, teacher decision making is the key feature that distinguishes teacher centers from every other type of staff development or inservice training. We know very little about teacher decision making or about the organizational contexts in school and centers that foster it.

One final suggestion: It may be worthwhile to have a group of people work through these questions and set up some research priorities. Then we could think about a division of labor among the various funding sources to insure that the most important questions are addressed now, instead of in ten years, when the only people who could study them would be historians of the teacher center movement.

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CHAPTER 12

THE ORGANIZATIONAL NICHE OF TEACHER CENTERS: ONE OBSERVER'S VIEWS

DAN C. LORTIE

New kinds of organizations are not likely to be standardized or immutable, and this appears to be the case with teacher centers in the United States. On the assumption that those interested in centers can shape and reshape them to better accomplish their purposes, this paper discusses the part which teacher centers could come to play on the educational scene. The first section outlines certain trends in teaching which point to needs for new knowledge and skills. The second identifies gaps in providing such knowledge and skill in universities and school districts. The third part of the paper specifies functions for teacher centers which would provide for new needs and supplement available resources. Finally, I suggest ways in which private foundations and government agencies might help teacher centers to realize the proposed purposes and to develop appropriate forms.

There is an irreducible subjectivity in the kind of policy analysis undertaken here; one must, furthermore, deal with topics which have not been treated in a systematic, empirical way. The aim cannot be total objectivity or clear proof for one's position; my goal is to stimulate dialogue about what teacher centers might become, dialogue that will feature thoughtful analysis, vigorous debate, and careful research. Given the importance of the issues, the likelihood that public funds will be spent, and the commitment of many who have contributed to building teacher centers, serious discussion is clearly warranted.

Some Current Trends in Teaching

It is difficult to speak with confidence about trends in classroom teaching. Many of us have become skeptical about any claims of change, and whatever changes can be documented seem minuscule when compared with the extravagant expectations generated during the so-called "educational revolution" of the '60s. Time and again, educational evaluation and research have described projects which promised much but yielded little. A more serious limitation is that we have no adequate system for reporting classroom events. Our image of reality is constructed from occasional monographs, journalistic descriptions, and nonrandom contacts with schools and school personnel. Still, we must do our best, keeping in mind the tentativeness of the empirical base on which we work.

I would claim that most of the dominant schools of thought about teaching today share a significant feature. That is a rejection of the idea that teaching entails standardized treatment of all students; with this rejection comes an insistence on differentiation in the instructional process. Educational approaches which differ in other important respects agree on the need to fit instruction to the interests and abilities of the individual student, or to categories of students who are perceived to be homogenous in educationally relevant ways. A school which stresses individually guided instruction provides a mix of instructional procedures and techniques and seeks to find the mix best suited to individual students. Teachers committed to open education strive to build curriculum around the interests of individuals and around teachers' perceptions of what is needed. Other approaches (e.g., mastery learning, aptitude-treatment) prescribe regular testing to pace individual learning. School systems which provide alternative styles of teaching and learning likewise reject the view that there is "one best way" for all.

This shared emphasis on differentiation of instruction signals an important shift in what organizational analysts call the "technology" of teaching, a shift which implies important changes in the conception and actualization of the teacher's role. My impression is that some degree of differentiation now prevails in a significant minority of American schools; it will receive impetus as millions of federal dollars are spent to provide individualized courses of study for students in special education programs. I doubt that instructional uniformity will regain the allegiance of educational experts: differentiation is gathering strong support from educational research and development and is consider-

ably more than a passing fancy. It is highly probable that thousands of teachers will be expected to move from standardized to differentiated teaching in the years ahead.

As instruction changes from standard treatment for all to some differentiation, schools move toward what Thompson (1967) calls "intensive technology," in which what happens to a person is regulated by feedback from him. When intensive technology is combined with the concept of accountability - another trend we cannot ignore - teaching becomes the capacity to select those means which bring about stated objectives. Such a view of teaching is activist in nature, for it implies greater responsibility on the part of those who teach. When options exist, it can be argued that the student's failure to learn is due to the selection of inappropriate means.

In the long run, placing greater responsibility on teachers to assess students and to produce discernible results will require organizational changes. To see schooling as a standardized process matches hierarchical conceptions of school governance: administrators are responsible for selecting the one best means and ensuring that teachers comply with the choice. It is unjust to hold subordinates responsible when they have been denied the right to choose the means they consider most effective. (This is compounded by the plausibility of teachers' claims that they know the student best.) But where options can be identified and teachers held accountable for results, the scope of hierarchical authority must be restricted. If differentiation and accountability continue as powerful trends, we can expect considerable renegotiation of relationships between teachers and administrators. One possible outcome is the refinement and formalization of the specifics of professional autonomy and hierarchical authority.

Instructional differentiation has another implication for the role of the teacher: it produces more specialization among teachers, hence greater interdependence. No matter how talented the teacher, there are severe limits on what he or she can do to differentiate instruction in a self-contained classroom arrangement. For example, the concept of an instructional mix produces specialists in computer-assisted instruction and reading laboratories; other conceptions which stress teamwork cause teachers to begin to identify their particular capabilities with particular children. As more professionals and aides work with the same students, the need for communication and coordination of activities increases. As interaction replaces isolation, the demands on teachers change and new sentiments develop. Although this process is not likely to unfold rapidly (teaching has a long tradition

of individualism), those who work together continually will probably develop a sense of group responsibility rooted in shared decision making and coordination. Where that occurs, schools will consist more of teams of professionals than loose collections of individual teachers, and issues of authority and autonomy will have to address the rights and responsibility of groups.

Whatever the long-term outcomes, instructional differentiation makes immediate demands on teachers which differ from those in traditional settings. First, individualized instruction reduces the barriers which prevail when teachers deal with students as members of a group for it requires a closer personal relationship with each student. Such closeness makes new cognitive and emotional demands - it is harder *not* to see what the student has failed to learn and one may get more deeply involved with his life and problems. Second, individualization increases the teacher's decision load as routine, general programming is replaced by individually oriented choices. Such choices require hard thought and attention to individuals and their learning patterns. The mechanics involved are also taxing, because careful records of individual accomplishment must be maintained. Given the increased burden of decision making, teachers are likely to share the load through "staffing" individual children, relying on group judgment which is itself a novel element in many schools. Finally, increased interdependence with colleagues presents its own peculiar demands for appropriate interpersonal skills and attitudes consistent with team ways of working. For example, psychic rewards earned from evidence of student learning must now be shared rather than experienced as one's own.

Each of these changes in the role of the teacher involves learning new skills and concepts. Knowing individual students better means that more information must be organized and interpreted: close acquaintanceship is the enemy of stereotyping. Seeking a deeper understanding of individuals makes insights rooted in the study of the humanities and social sciences more relevant and encourages reflection on one's experience. Selecting courses of study for individuals requires diagnostic abilities and an acute sense of the potentialities and limitations of instructional alternatives. Close cooperation with other teachers and specialists requires enough objectivity to participate in developing a workable division of labor based on diverse competencies; effective communication may necessitate learning technical vocabularies different from one's own. Initiating and controlling a variety of learning programs increases the need for managerial skills and knowledge. It is also worth noting that while all teach-

ers who work in differentiated programs will need some of these abilities, those who assume leadership posts will need them in greater abundance. Unlike traditional line positions in schools, those who lead instructional teams will make decisions which bear directly on instructional processes and individual children.

These new skills are not simple ones, and we would not expect them to emerge automatically. Nor can one readily imagine that, given the choice, teaching staffs who do not have the skills would persist in the face of difficulties. If differentiated instruction is carried forward, it will require serious efforts to help teachers acquire the know-how. What arrangements might serve to provide such learning?

Limitations in Current Arrangements for Professional Development

Two major forms of institutionalized assistance are available to teachers seeking new knowledge and new skills - university instruction and inservice programs sponsored by school districts. Each has an important contribution to offer teachers making the transition from standardized to differentiated instruction. However, each is limited in its capacity to cope with needs stimulated by differentiated instruction and the associated role changes. If I have chosen to focus on the limitations it is because they offer the best opportunities for teacher centers: it would make little sense for new and not fully developed organizations to duplicate existing resources.

Universities are best equipped to give instruction in the disciplines the teachers teach. Schools of education can play a valuable role by helping teachers to develop analytic modes of thought and research techniques which can add sophistication to the review of experience and the planning of improvements in systems of instruction. These special capacities of universities make them an indispensable ally to any program supporting the move to a more intensive technology; some existing teacher centers are, in fact, cooperative arrangements between teachers and universities. But when we turn to pedagogical specifics - how everyday affairs should be handled in schools undertaking instructional differentiation - the role of the university is less clear.

Some university people have played a critical part in initiating new forms of differentiated instruction. One thinks, for example, of Lillian Weber at City College,

Benjamin Bloom at The University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin's work on individually guided instruction. Some professors of education involve themselves directly in daily instruction and bring their ideas to fruition in school contexts. But they are the exception in academia; most education faculties have little to do with the day-to-day affairs of public schools. Although pedagogical methodology has been taught in education schools for many decades, it has not fared well. Not only does the field fail to win the esteem of academics in general, but experienced teachers are somewhat critical of their preparation in pedagogy (Lortie, 1975). Professors of education who devote themselves primarily to pedagogy (particularly in the high-prestige universities) have few rewards, and one result is that few education schools today possess the complement of persons needed to give intellectual leadership to the development of concrete systems of differentiated instruction. Some professors may be able to conceptualize such systems, but few possess expertise in the myriad details that are essential to making them work. Nor are schools of education marked by a single-item agenda to improve teacher practice; they serve a variety of constituencies. There is considerable evidence, in fact, that improving the practice of experienced teachers does not have high priority: in the United States, graduate study of education, particularly at the higher levels, more often serves those seeking to leave the classroom than those who wish to stay in it.

Although some universities have demonstrated their capacity to play a key role in the transition to differentiated instruction, most are too remote from recent developments to do so. Teachers, moreover, prefer to learn specific techniques from persons who have used them in public school classrooms; the number of university faculty members who can claim that experience is highly restricted (Lortie, 1975). It is probably more and more difficult for people in universities to get direct experience with some of the newer techniques, because universities do not demonstrate the same press to change approaches to teaching as do elementary and secondary schools. Today's teachers are less ready than their predecessors to grant expert status to professors of education, and teacher organizations are trying to increase their control over professional training in the apparent belief that experienced teachers have much to say about learning the craft. We clearly need to assess the resources that universities can bring to bear on professional development in the years ahead; without that information, one must take care in delineating their role. It seems less and less likely, however,

that the role of the university will continue to be as all-encompassing as it once was.

The limited capacity of universities to teach the specifics of professional practice is not limited to the field of education. As studies of work socialization reveal, physicians and lawyers only begin their technical education in academic halls, and a considerable part of their practical training takes place in hospitals and law firms (Becker, 1961; Lortie, 1959). Many of the skills of engineers, architects, and business executives are developed in early stages of their work career. A difficulty in public education is that provision for continued learning in the workplace is not well developed; teachers, for example, "sink or swim" in their initial years of practice. The lack of work-based training in public education has placed an undue burden on universities, forcing them to take on functions which in other fields are handled closer to the everyday realities of work.

Direct training of employed teachers has never played a major part in the day-to-day life of American school districts. Unlike many business firms, the armed services, and hospitals, for example, school districts spend relatively little money on direct instruction of their professional staff; rather they encourage additional training by granting salary increments to those who take extra credits at universities. This is, of course, a substantial subsidy to graduate instruction in education, and it points up the dependency of school districts on outside educational institutions. I suspect that this approach to staff development stems at least in part from the localistic orientation of school board members who control school expenditures. By linking salary increments to further schooling and service in their district, school boards pay only for "what they get"; there have been strong objections in the past to spending funds to instruct teachers who might choose to leave for another employer. Localism in schooling has produced a parochial logic which has impeded the emergence of a commitment to profession-building in teaching.

The limited resources allocated to inservice education result in overloading the programs that do exist. For example, teachers commonly complain that occasions for inservice work are less likely to focus on classroom issues than "administrative" concerns; principals, they say, tend to monopolize faculty meetings and workshops, stressing organizational matters at the expense of instructional problems. (In systems organized on the self-contained classroom model, this outcome is not surprising because administrators have relatively few opportunities to gain the collective atten-

tion of faculties.) Boards of education argue with teacher organizations about the financing of inservice work, with the former wanting it on "teacher time" and the latter on "school time." For such reasons teachers give low marks to school district programs of inservice education (Lortie, 1975).

Most school systems of any size employ supervisors who work out of the central office and are charged with improving the quality of instruction. In large systems, such supervisors deal with a wide variety of fields and subjects. Again we encounter an overloaded system, for such persons are usually few and their tasks multiple. They assist the superintendent in ensuring that local school practice is consistent with district policy; they work on curriculum decisions; they get involved in recruiting specialized personnel; they intervene with principals to see that their particular subjects, and the teachers who teach them, receive sympathetic support; they spend considerable time making out reports for the school district and the state. It is not surprising that supervisors have little time or energy to devote to special workshops and direct supervision of classroom teachers.

Other problems limit the capacity of school systems to provide intellectual stimulation for teachers and opportunities for them to increase their skills. It is difficult for school districts to employ a "critical mass" of pedagogically expert persons; public resistance to hiring people who do not work directly with children has always been high. Special talent (e.g., individuals who are trained in some form of differentiated instruction) tends to be dispersed throughout the schools and is frequently not visible even to immediate colleagues. Nor have school districts shown much inclination to share scarce resources of teaching talent. Another difficulty arises from the position of schools in society and their somewhat bounded and guarded nature: adult traffic across school boundaries is relatively light. The stimulation of regular working contact with adults from other walks of life is not part of the school scene. For such to occur, special steps have to be taken. Some schools benefit from regular contact with teacher training programs and centers engaged in innovation (e.g., R&D organizations). A few highly innovative schools which feature programs involving community participation engage their teachers in a variety of interactions. In the main, however, schools tend toward cultural isolation and whatever entropy that entails.

I commented earlier that school districts, along with universities, have much to contribute to the transition to more intensive forms of teaching technology. Such movement cannot occur unless school districts are intimately engaged not only

in developing such instructional programs but also in helping teachers cope with the new demands they impose. Schools are the essential laboratories of instructional innovation and teacher learning; the activities which take place there are an essential component of any effective program of professional development.

Proposed Functions of Teacher Centers

If teaching is becoming more complex, and if the limitations of universities and school districts as sources of relevant knowledge have been accurately represented, a strong case can be made for organizations which deal specifically with the technical needs of teachers. It is also evident that if such organizations are to fill the needs we have identified, they must have clear, consistent priorities and a structure to match. We can specify, at least as working hypotheses, some of the conditions likely to produce focused enterprises that are not overloaded with extraneous ends. In this section, I will attempt to state a few general principles which could serve as such working hypotheses.

The major agenda item for teacher centers should be to provide assistance to classroom teachers who wish to improve the quality of their work. This means that instruction and its processes should provide the organizing theme for teacher center programming and that suggestions for including any other concerns should be subject to the most rigorous screening. Administration, promotion, and other support activities should be held to the minimum, and other worthy undertakings such as research should be tested for direct applicability to the central purpose. There should be pride, not embarrassment, in a determinedly practical stance; the complexity of the teacher's craft and the range of possible solutions to teachers' problems should dominate without question.

If this central purpose is to be realized, teacher centers must be governed - in detail as well as overall direction - by classroom teachers. Recent federal legislation recognizes this idea at least in part, by requiring that a majority of the board members be teachers. However, this stipulation in and of itself does not guarantee that day-to-day operations within centers will focus on classroom problems and the development of skills to deal more effectively with them. Teachers acting on boards may assume the conventional board member role, delegating operations to individuals defined as "good administrators" or, if they represent an organization, negotiating trade-offs which provide openings for school adminis-

trators. But those who conduct the daily affairs of centers must have demonstrated prior commitment to professional development and pedagogical excellence. It is also important symbolically that the most visible figures within centers be members of the teacher's profession and identified with the direct instruction of students. Such symbolic reinforcement will enhance the sense of the collegiality of teachers and their ownership of the enterprise. To the extent that teachers perceive the center as "our thing," it will carry greater moral force.

If teacher centers multiply over the next few years - and current indications are that they will - one of the major challenges they will face will be to recruit appropriate leadership. The independent centers described in this book have been spontaneous expressions of teachers' commitment. In such centers, leadership has been self-defined by the readiness of some to give extra effort, time, and skill to a voluntary undertaking. Institutionalization may make it more difficult to find such natural leaders, although one hopes this is not the case. In any event, much attention must be paid to the recruitment and screening of outstanding teachers who have special abilities in professional development work. It is likely that a career will develop in this field; it should have its roots in persons who have demonstrated unusual talent in teaching.

If teacher centers are to be effective in helping teachers to learn new skills and develop a deeper understanding of their work, they must have ties to certain vital resources. They should be linked to classrooms where imaginative instruction is taking place so as to provide opportunities for protracted observation and for teachers to consult with one other singly or in workshops or seminars. The implication is clear: teacher centers should be in contact with a variety of schools featuring a variety of approaches and should not be subject to pressures found only in one school district. I believe the Office of Education should encourage consortia of school districts, particularly outside the large metropolitan districts, to cosponsor teacher centers. The question of whether centers will be more vigorous if dominated by one approach rather than a medley of approaches is difficult to resolve, but surely participants should have the opportunity to observe techniques which cut across schools of pedagogical thought.

Teacher centers should also be associated with places where intellectual efforts are made to understand educational processes - universities, R&D centers, corporate training programs, union adult education undertakings, etc. Whatever the specific form of such contact, it should not endanger the

integrity of the teacher center's preoccupation with issues of classroom instruction or the dominance of teachers in the center's governance. The prestige of universities, for example, should not be permitted to distort center activities; the initiation and selection of intellectual resources should rest with those in charge of teacher center activities.

Centers should be large enough to have a critical mass of persons and of collegial interchange that will provide stimulation to all participants. Centers which deal with a larger range of subjects and grades will obviously have larger staffs than those where a narrower range is covered. Centers will work better, I believe, if they avoid overclassifying staff members and keep "contracts" loose and variable; part-time staff should not be discouraged in a rush to premature bureaucratization.

Finally, a word about the relation between teacher centers and the advancement of pedagogical knowledge. As I see it, the core activity which justifies the existence of centers lies in the direct, mutual assistance of teachers. In the course of such exchange, however, participants will probably develop ways of thinking and talking about instruction which, if captured and distributed, would have wider utility. Different centers could, through time, share their insights through reports, films, cassettes, video tape. Some centers might be equipped to undertake programs of clinical research, following up ideas generated within the group or testing ideas from other places. Resources should be available to assist such inquiry - funds both for research and intermittent expert help. Teacher centers could come to play a significant role in building a more sophisticated technical base for differentiated instruction.

A Role for Donors in Teacher Center Development

The Congress, several government agencies, state departments of education, and some foundations have shown interest in teacher centers and their potential for improving teaching in the public schools. It is not easy for such "donors" and others interested in teacher centers to know how to be most helpful. If centers are to reflect teachers' judgments of their needs and operate under their aegis, obviously teachers must provide the major impetus for center development. Those who have resources to assist teachers in developing centers could, through unwise policies of support, overdirect the undertaking and divert it from teachers' needs. In

this final section, I wish to consider some issues posed by external support and offer a few suggestions on how donors might assist the enterprise effectively without "taking it away."

The federal program for creating teacher centers has already developed considerable momentum. It is too early, of course, to assess how that program will work, but we can identify some risks that should interest others who support the teacher center movement. One of the important opportunities available to private foundations is to act as a countervailing influence to public funding, supplementing its omissions and dampening its excesses. The stage of development of teacher centers is early enough to be fluid, thus giving foundations and others an unusual change to shape a significant social and educational movement.

As I understand the approach taken by the Congress and the Office of Education, teacher centers will in almost all cases operate under the sponsorship of local school districts. (A small percentage will be sponsored by institutions of higher education.) I would like to identify potential dangers in this strategy in addition to the risk of parochialism already mentioned.

It is not yet clear how powerful a role school administrators will play in the governance of federally supported teacher centers; probably in many instances teacher organizations and superintendents will negotiate the terms under which teacher centers will be designed and operated. To the extent that these negotiations reflect preexisting concerns of both parties, there is a risk that the instructional primacy which should prevail in teacher centers will be sacrificed to other interests. For example, school districts could use centers to absorb individuals who would otherwise lose their positions or face demotion because of reduced enrollments; teacher organizations might agree to that use. Such a decision, though humane, would not serve the purpose of building a new and unique organization devoted to professional development. School administrators and teacher organizations might agree to utilize teacher centers, not to advance the abilities of teachers who really want to improve themselves, but as a kind of "repair depot" for teachers who cause them embarrassment. Given the difficulty of dealing with such cases, this would not be a remarkable development. But to burden teacher centers with the inept could not only defeat their developmental purposes but reduce their attractiveness to others: participation could carry stigma rather then distinction. Similar effects could also occur if school districts overloaded teacher center facilities by in-

sisting on massive programs of retraining, fixed schedules, and other bureaucratic approaches. It is important to realize that the teacher center concept, not to say its actualization in concrete organizations, is still fragile; the early dumping of inappropriate or excessive demands on infant centers could distort their development and prevent them from demonstrating whatever potential they might have for improving teacher performance.

Other dangers are implicit in any program of the sort developed by the federal government. Most of us are familiar, for example, with the project syndrome in which specialized central office personnel routinely apply for whatever funds are available, sometimes without even the most rudimentary consultation with those who would carry out the program. Thus well-written applications which lack any strong support within the host school system might be approved; under such circumstances, a teacher center could be established as just one more central office unit. Another risk lies in the possibility that teacher centers will take on the complexion of normal relationships within hierarchical school systems with "administrators" and "others" in the usual pattern of super- and subordination. Should this occur, teacher centers will become bureaucratized and will not develop a distinctive, collegial quality or a unique pedagogical mission.

Independent and university-based teacher centers which are already in existence may be unable to obtain federal support without making changes that would diminish their special nature. These centers constitute substantial investments of human hope, effort, and operating knowledge, and it would be wasteful public policy to permit centers which have demonstrated their viability to erode or disappear. Since they are a voluntary expression of concern for professional development, their primary commitment to instruction and teacher development is a matter of record. Operating outside government regulations, they have the freedom and flexibility so often lacking where federal guidelines constrain organizational policy and practice. Independent and university-linked centers should, therefore, rank high among the objects of continued foundation interest and support. In my view, they are the best current bets for advances in professional development.

There are ways in which foundations and government agencies could help teacher centers to continue and mature without hampering their initiative and self-reliance. They could provide a minimum level of financial support, counting on continued voluntarism to supply a large part of the energy and effort; by doing so, they could forestall the need for small centers to apply themselves primarily to fund raising, promo-

tion, and other extraneous activities. Such support should probably be given for longer than the typical durations of foundation grants in order to provide exemplars for the country at large. Foundations and agencies of state and federal governments could support the development of a center leadership cadre through internships in existing centers, special programs of study, travel funds for direct exposure to various instructional practices, consultations, and the like. (NIE and the Ford Foundation have already done yeoman's work in this regard.) Financial support could facilitate linkages to universities and other loci of specialized expertise and could underwrite modest inquiries into matters of widespread, practical concern to teachers. One hopes that at least some state governments and local districts will accept considerable working autonomy among federally supported teacher centers.

It is the private foundations, I believe, which are particularly free to encourage a pattern of diversity and innovation within the teacher center field. They can support centers that have varying foci, different philosophies, and alternative structural arrangements, providing that variety of practice which enhances the competition of ideas and supplies models for government-supported centers. The initial effects of diversity might well be to promote local schools of thought, but in the long run the efforts of individuals to synthesize can be a source of creativity. A vigorous and diverse set of teacher centers, privately and publicly supported, could do much to strengthen a reasoned transition to differentiated instruction in our schools.

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APPENDIX

PARTICIPANTS IN SEMINAR ON TEACHER CENTERS

MARIANNE AMAREL
Senior Research Associate
Early Education Group
Developmental Research Division
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, NJ 08540

THEODORE ANDREWS
Program Coordinator
National Council of States on Inservice Education
11402 Orchard Lane
Reston, VA 82581

RICHARD AYLING
College of Education
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ 82581
(Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development)

MAX S. BELL
Department of Education
The University of Chicago
5835 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

D.J.R. BRUCKNER
Director, Center for Policy Study
Vice President for Public Affairs
The University of Chicago
5801 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

HANS BRÜGELMANN
Director, EVI CIEL
Deutsches Institut für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik
Kardinal von Galen Ring 45
4400 Münster, German Federal Republic

DAVID BUTTS
Chairman, Department of Science Education
University of Georgia
Adderhold Hall, Room 212
Athens, GA 30622

AMITY BUXTON
Teachers' Active Learning Center/ Teacher Shelter
c/o Oakland Public Schools
1025 Second Avenue
Oakland, CA 94604

DORIS CHENAULT
Detroit Center for Professional Growth and Development
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit, MI 48202

MORRIS COGAN
617 Cathedral of Learning
University of Pittsburgh
4616 Henry Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

ELIZABETH COHEN
Department of Sociology
Stanford University
Palo Alto, CA 94305

KATHLEEN DEVANEY
Director, Teachers' Centers Exchange
Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development
1855 Folsom Street
San Francisco, CA 94102

ROY EDELFELT
Staff Associate
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

THOMAS FEELY
Chicago Teachers Union
201 North Wells Street
9th Floor
Chicago, IL 60606

SHARON FEIMAN
Department of Education
The University of Chicago
5835 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

MARY HARAHAN
School Capacity for Problem Solving Group
National Institute of Education
19th and M Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20208

MARY HATWOOD
President, Virginia Education Association
Gamble's Hill
116 South Third Street
Richmond, VA 23219

FREDRICK V. HAYEN
Minneapolis Public Schools/ University of Minnesota Teacher Center
155 Peik Hall
University of Minnesota
159 Pillsbury Drive, S.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455

DAVID E. HUNT
Department of Applied Psychology
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1V6

DAVID IMIG
Director, State and Federal Relations
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
One Dupont Circle, Suite 610
Washington, D.C. 20036

PHILIP W. JACKSON
Chairman, Department of Education
The University of Chicago
5835 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

GAIL JOHNSTON
Director, The Learning Exchange
2720 Walnut Street
Kansas City, MO 64108

EFFIE JONES
Associate Director
American Association of School Administrators
1801 North Moore Street
Arlington, VA 22209

EUGENIA KEMBLE
Special Assistant to President, American Federation of Teachers
11 Dupont Circle, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

MARY KAY KOSA
President, Michigan Education Association
217 South Macomb
Monroe, MI 48161

DAN C. LORTIE
Department of Education
The University of Chicago
5835 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

ROBERT A. LYONS
Deputy Superintendent
Illinois Office of Education
188 West Randolph Street
Chicago, IL 60601

MARJORIE MARTUS
Program Officer, Public Education
Division of Education and Research
Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

MILBREY WALLIN McLAUGHLIN
Rand Corporation
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, CA 90406

DAVID MESSERSCHMIDT
Chairman of the Board
Teacher Curriculum Work Center
1400 East 53rd Street
Chicago, IL 60637

PAUL NACHTIGAL
3486 Youngfield
Wheatridge, Colorado 80033

HENRY F. OLDS, JR.
10 Saville Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

BAMBI OLMSTEAD
National Teacher Corps
Donohoe Building, Room 1700
400 Sixth Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

MICHAEL Q. PATTON
Minnesota Center for Social Research
University of Minnesota
2122 Riverside Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55454

VITO PERRONE
Center for Teaching and Learning
University of North Dakota
Grand Forks, ND 58201

PAUL E. PETERSON
Departments of Political Science and Education
The University of Chicago
5828 University Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

THOMAS E. RYAN
Texas Education Agency
201 East 11th
Austin, Texas 78701

CHRISTINE SAN JOSÉ
Coordinator, West Genesee/
Marcellus/Syracuse
University Teacher Center
Stonehedge School
Sanderson Drive
Camillus, NY 13031

ALLEN SCHMIEDER
Chief, Support Programs
Division of Educational
Systems Development
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

LEE SHULMAN
Co-Director, Institute for
Research on Teaching
College of Education
Michigan State University
Erickson Hall
East Lansing, MI 48824

DOLORES K. SOLOVY
Director, Wilmette Teacher
Center
415 Green Bay Road
Wilmette, IL 60091

SUSAN S. STODOLSKY
Department of Education
The University of Chicago
5835 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

JANE T. STUTSMAN
Division of Science Education
Resources Improvement
National Science Foundation
Washington, D.C. 20550

L.C. TAYLOR
43 The Drive
Sevenoaks
Kent, England
(formerly, OECD)

DAVID THOMAS
Organisation for Economic
Co-operation and Development
2, rue André-Pascal
75775 Paris, France

ROBERT E. THORNBURY
Sherbrooke Teachers Centre
Rosaline Road
Fullham
London SW6 England

ZALMAN USISKIN
Department of Education
The University of Chicago
5835 Kimbark Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

ALANSON VAN FLEET
Citizens' Council for Ohio
Schools
517 The Arcade
Cleveland, OH 44114

LILLIAN WEBER
Workshop Center for Open
Education
City College School of Education
6 Shepard Hall
Convent Avenue and 140th Street
New York, NY 10031

DAVID W. WELLS
Assistant Superintendent for
Public Instruction
Oakland Schools
2100 Pontiac Lake Road
Pontiac, MI 48054

MICHAEL P. WOLFE
Director of Student Teaching
School of Education
Central Michigan University
Mt. Pleasant, MI 48859
(Association of Teacher Educators)

PATRICIA ZIGARMI
206 Oak Hill Drive
Oxford, OH 45056

Staff

ANN GRAHN
Program Coordinator
Center for Policy Study
The University of Chicago
5801 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637